HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BOURNE
AND
BENTON

REVISED

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FRANZ JOSEF LAND
ARCTIC OCEAN
NEW SIBERIA
ZEMBLA
TAIMYR PEN.
Kara Sea
TUNDRAS
YUGOR
WRANGELL I.
Bering Strait
Pt. Barrow
ALASKA
R. Yukon
Obdorsk
Turukhansk
ARCTIC CIRCLE
SIBERIA
ST. LAWRENCE I.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Tobolsk
Irkutsk
L. Baikal
R. Amur
Sea of Okhotsk
KAMCHATKA
Bering Sea
ALEUTIAN IS.
SAGHALIEN
L. Balkash
Sea of Aral
MANCHURIA
Vladivostok
YEZO
CHINESE EMPIRE
Sea of Japan
Pekin
JAPAN
Tokio
Yokohama
Kabul
Indus
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Ganges
Canton
TROPIC OF CANCER
Hongkong
INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
Arabian Sea
Goa
B. of Bengal
Madras
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
CEYLON
Bangkok
South China Sea
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Manila
MINDANAO
MARIANNE OR LADRONE IS.
GUAM
CAROLINE IS.
WAKE I.
MARSHALL IS.
Honolulu
HAWAIIAN IS.
PACIFIC
PALMYRA
GILBERT IS.
Singapore
BORNEO
EQUATOR
SUMATRA
CELEBES
NEW GUINEA
JAVA
INDIAN OCEAN
PHŒNIX IS.
ELLICE IS.
SOLOMON IS.
MARQUESAS IS.
SAMOA IS.
NEW HEBRIDES
TUTUILA I.
MANUA IS.
PAUMOTU
FIJI IS.
SOCIETY IS.
LOW AR
NEW CALEDONIA
FRIENDLY IS.
COOK IS.
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
AUSTRALIA
Perth
Sydney
Melbourne
Auckland
NORTH I.
NEW ZEALAND
Wellington
SOUTH I.
Dunedin
STEWART I.
TASMANIA
MAP OF THE WORLD
SHOWING
UNITED STATES
AND ITS POSSESSIONS
United States Possessions in Red
Scale of Miles on the Equator
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E: United States assumed temporary control of Cuba, 1898

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GEORGE WASHINGTON

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

HENRY ELDRIDGE BOURNE

AND

ELBERT JAY BENTON

PROFESSORS OF HISTORY IN WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

REVISED

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PREFACE

For a little over a decade the plan of the Committee of Eight, of the American Historical Association, for the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, has been before the public schools of this country. It has been increasingly recognized as marking a distinct step in advance. The plan sought to give the development of our country a truer historical setting: first, by reviewing, in the sixth grade, the simpler features of the European origins of civilization, and, second, by recalling, in the seventh and eighth grades, as appropriate topics suggest, the European background, or the tendencies in European history which illustrate the influence of forces similar to those acting in American history. This textbook, together with a shorter book, entitled *Introductory American History*, designed for the sixth grade, seeks to carry into effect the plan of the Committee. About two-thirds of that book concern the beginnings in Great Britain and Europe of the civilization which the people of the United States share with other peoples of European race. The remainder contains descriptions of the discoveries and early settlements in America, principally in the sixteenth century. This volume for the upper grades opens with a chapter which repeats briefly the story of early discovery and settlement. The chapter may be used as a review in those schools which use the *Introductory American History*. Teachers who do not use that book will find in the chapter the essential facts of the period.

The authors are gratified by the wide acceptance of both books. Indeed, the use has been so large that it has become necessary to reset the books and to make new plates. This has given the authors an opportunity to revise, and in many parts to rewrite, the history in accordance with the spirit and needs of the schools after the Great War. In particular, the space devoted to the history of the colonial period has been reduced, in order to give greater attention to the history of the country since the Civil War.

It is the aim of this, as well as of the previous, edition to emphasize those matters most important for young people to know, not only that they may understand how the United States came to be what it is to-day, but also that they may interpret historically, and therefore soundly, the questions that are now pressing for solution. The authors believe that while pupils of the seventh and eighth grades should understand the elements of our political history, its more complex aspects should be reserved for later study. One of the insistent needs of effec-

tive work in history is a wise grading of material. If overemphasis of political history is avoided, space will be found to treat adequately other phases of the life and labor of the people during the different periods of our development. The success of Americans in organizing civilized life over so vast an area in three or four centuries has been a work the magnitude of which may well awaken the interest of every pupil. With this point of view in mind it is natural that the authors have constantly emphasized the westward movement.

Another factor which has received unusual attention is the geographical setting of American history. This has not been done in an incidental or perfunctory manner, but as a most important mode of presenting historical facts. The pupil has been studying geography for several years and should realize that his work is of immediate utility in the study of a kindred subject. The teacher who will turn especially to chapter II, The New Country and Its Barriers, or to the chapters on the Revolutionary War and the Civil War will see how the geographical explanation has been utilized.

In this edition effort has been made to supplement and improve the maps. Many new illustrations have been used.

The appendix, as before, gives a summary of the principal political events, with the names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents, and of defeated candidates for the Presidency, the dates of the admission of states, with their area and population.

The authors again wish to express their thanks to those who have aided them with helpful criticisms.

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A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS

The Work of Three Centuries. — The history of the United States is made up of many different histories. Each part of the country, the East, the South, the Mississippi Valley, the West, the Pacific Coast, has its separate story, as well as a share in the common story of the whole Union. We have state histories and histories of towns and cities.

MANHATTAN ISLAND AS IT APPEARED TO THE FIRST EXPLORERS

The story changes not only as we go from place to place, but also as we leave our own day and go back to the days when our grandparents or great-grandparents were young, or even to the period when our history begins, three or four hundred years ago. At that time the United States was forest, prairie, and desert, the haunt of wild animals and Indians. It was an unexplored land. Its history opens, therefore, as a tale of discoveries, of long voyages over unknown seas or expeditions by strange rivers and dark forest paths. After this comes the story of early settlements or colonies along the Atlantic Coast. Then follow tales of struggle with Indians or other Europeans,

like the Spaniards and the French, who were eager to win the country for themselves. Finally the colonies unite and become the United States, no longer ruled from across the Atlantic, but an independent nation.

As many interesting events have happened since Independence Day as happened before it. There are stories of settlements beyond the Alleghenies, in the valley of the Mississippi, and of the way in which adventurous men and women crossed plains and mountains until they reached the Pacific Coast. We are told how they built towns and cities in the new lands, how they made the fertile prairies produce wheat, corn, and grass, and how they dug gold, silver, copper, and iron out of the mountains. Another part of the story explains how people in the older, as well as in the newer, states constructed railroads and canals, launched steamboats on rivers and lakes, and built up new and great industries.

The history of our country has almost as many threads as a wonderful tapestry. It is not always easy to follow the separate threads and see what each contributes to the picture. Then, too, there are threads which belong to the story of older peoples, for much of our manner of living was learned before our ancestors crossed the seas. To understand our own history and civilization we must know something of the countries where our ancestors lived before they came to America.[1] Here we must begin with what is called the Period of Discovery.

Three Great Discoveries. — It is not necessary to describe in detail the early discoveries; it will be enough to state briefly the main facts. The most important voyages of that period were made by Bartholomew Diaz, Christopher Columbus, and Ferdinand Magellan. All three were in search of a route to the Indies, the Golden East about which Marco Polo, a Venetian traveler, had told the world. Eu-

[1] See *Introductory American History* for a brief account of that part of its civilization which America owes to the Old World. This volume also contains a fuller account of the discoveries than is possible in the present chapter.

ropeans had usually obtained from the Venetians the spices, drugs, and silks of India, China, and the islands off the coast of Asia. The Venetians purchased them in the eastern Mediterranean, at ports where the ancient caravan routes from the East ended. In the time of Columbus it was becoming dangerous, on account of the wars, to bring eastern goods overland, and all the bolder sailors were eager to find a sea route to the Indies.

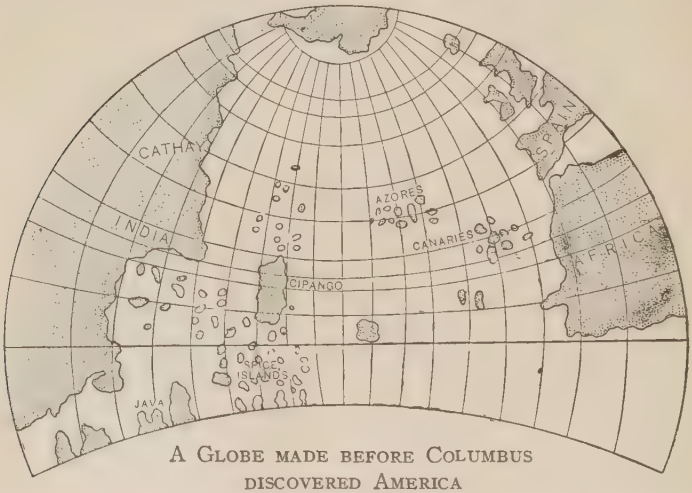
Bartholomew Diaz. — Diaz was a Portuguese captain. Many Portuguese before him had attempted to go far enough down the coast of Africa to find the southern point, and, passing it, turn northward again toward India. He was successful in 1487, although he did not reach India. As he had shown the way, another Portuguese captain, Vasco da Gama, eleven years later reached India and brought back to Portugal a rich cargo of spices.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
The oldest known picture of Columbus, in the National Library, Madrid

Christopher Columbus. — Meanwhile Columbus, a Genoese sailor, who had once been in the service of Portugal, but now was in the service of Spain, formed a more venturesome plan. He believed that he could find his way to spice-bearing islands, and even to the coasts of China and Japan, by sailing westward across the Atlantic. Many sailors in those days feared the Atlantic as a " Sea of Darkness " full of dreadful monsters, but Columbus had been on voyages with the great sea-captains of Genoa and Portugal, and no longer dreaded to go far out of sight of land.

A Famous Voyage. — With three small ships Columbus left Spain on August 3, 1492. He visited the Canary Islands,

and on September 6 turned the prows of his ships due west into the wide and unknown Atlantic. Columbus thought the earth smaller than it really is, and therefore that a voyage to the coast of Asia would be short. He also imagined that the Atlantic would contain many islands which he would find on the voyage. At first all went well, for the winds blew steadily from the east, wafting the ships along. But as the days passed, the sailors began to wonder how they



A GLOBE MADE BEFORE COLUMBUS DISCOVERED AMERICA

This globe was made in Nuremberg in 1492, and is still preserved. It shows the Atlantic Ocean as Columbus thought of it

could return against those winds. Columbus sometimes had great difficulty in keeping them from open mutiny. For nearly five weeks he kept sailing westward. He encouraged the sailors by promises of a prize to the one who should first see land. Signs of land finally appeared, and on October 12 a small island was discovered. Columbus named it San Salvador. It was probably the present Watling Island. Columbus soon found many islands on every side. When he came upon a large body of land which the Indians called Cuba, he sent two messengers to search for the emperor of China, who, he thought, must live near. He was bitterly

disappointed when they found neither an emperor, nor cities, nor gold, nor even spices.

Misfortunes of Columbus. — When Columbus returned to Spain he was received with great rejoicing and was honored by the king and queen. He made three other voyages to America, discovering other islands in the West Indies and parts of the coast of South and Central America. As he failed to gain riches for himself or his followers, he became unpopular. Once he was taken back to Spain in chains like a common prisoner. Though his last days were

CARAVELS OF COLUMBUS

After the model shown at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893

saddened by misfortune, every one now regards him as the greatest of the discoverers. He had done more than start the search for another way to India — he had also started the exploration of a New World.

Discovery of the South Sea. — In 1513, seven years after the death of Columbus, a Spanish planter, named Balboa, discovered the Pacific Ocean, which Columbus had not even seen. Balboa and his followers marched from the shore of the Caribbean Sea through the dense forests of the Isthmus of Panama, taking twenty-two days to go forty-five miles. From the hilltops they finally discovered a vast sea stretch-

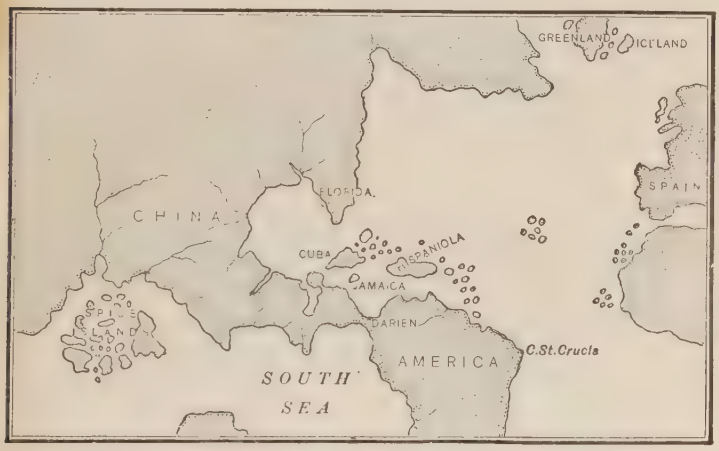
ing south and west. Balboa called it the South Sea, and this name was much used. The ocean which Balboa saw, Magellan soon afterward crossed.

Ferdinand Magellan. — Magellan was a Portuguese like Diaz and Da Gama, but like Columbus he had entered the service of the king of Spain. He hoped to find a route to the Indies past the great continent which lay across the way that Columbus had chosen. The Portuguese were already trading not only in India, but also in the Spice Islands, and Magellan became familiar with that region while in their service. He sailed from Spain in 1519 with five ships, and spent a year in searching the coast of South America for a passage into the ocean on the other side. At last he made his way through the strait since named for him, the Strait of Magellan, and sailed out into the Pacific or Peaceful Sea. His task was now to cross the Pacific, which was wider than he supposed. He succeeded, although his men suffered terribly before they reached the Ladrone Islands, where they obtained a supply of food. Soon afterward he reached the Philippines, but was killed in a fight with the natives. One of his ships found its way back to Spain by sailing around the Cape of Good Hope. Although Magellan died before the voyage was ended, the fame and honor of having sailed around the world, and having proved that America is not a part of Asia, but separated from it by a great ocean, belongs to him. The route to the Indies which he discovered was, however, not as convenient as that followed by Diaz and Da Gama.

MAGELLAN MONUMENT ON MACTÁN ISLAND

This monument marks the spot where Magellan was killed in a battle with the natives of the Philippine Islands

The Naming of America. — It seems strange that America was not named for Columbus. A great river, many cities in the United States, the District of Columbia, in which Washington is situated, and a country in South America, called the United States of Colombia, are named for him, but the American continents were named for another explorer, Americus Vespucius. Americus wrote about his discoveries much more than Columbus did. The people of the day either did not know what Columbus had done, or had for-



MAP OF THE NEW WORLD
Made after the discoveries of Columbus and Balboa

gotten it. One of them who was writing a geography suggested that the new lands be named for Americus. This was copied from one geography into another until everybody began to call the new continents America.

A Passage to the South Sea. — When the early voyagers learned that America was not merely a group of islands off the coast of Asia, they wished to explore it, partly to find a passage to the South Sea nearer than the Strait of Magellan, and partly to find gold, silver, precious stones, and other treasures which they heard about continually. Some of these explorers accomplished great things, while others were disappointed.

Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico. — Two explorers were also conquerors. They were Cortés and Pizarro. At that time a chief named Montezuma reigned in Mexico over a people called the Aztecs. Montezuma had treasures of silver and gold in the city of Mexico, and these Cortés undertook to capture. After fighting for two years he was victorious. He then ruled over the country in the name of the Spanish king.

Pizarro, Conqueror of Peru. — Pizarro did in Peru what Cortés had done in Mexico. The booty which the Spaniards seized in Peru was greater than they found in Mexico, amounting to nearly seven million dollars in gold, besides a great

VIEW OF THE "SOUTH SEA" FROM PANAMA

In 1513 Balboa, a Spanish planter from the island of Española, crossed the Isthmus of Panama and from the hilltops along the western edge looked out southward on a vast sea which he called the South Sea.

quantity of silver. The mines of Peru, as well as of Mexico, were very rich, and the Spaniards were able to send silver and gold home to Spain.

De Soto, Discoverer of the Mississippi. — Two other Spanish leaders were not so successful. They were De Soto, the governor of Cuba, and Coronado, a friend of the viceroy, or governor, of Mexico. In 1539 De Soto crossed over from Cuba to Florida, which was also a part of his dominions. He had heard tales of a country rich in gold mines, whose king was sprinkled every morning with powdered gold, and he brought together a large band of followers in order to search

for this Gilded Man or *El Dorado*. The army wandered for four years, much of the time in a half-starved condition, over a region now lying within eight southern States. They treated the Indians cruelly and were often attacked by them. In these battles the Spaniards lost most of their baggage. It became necessary for them to use the skins of wild animals for clothing. Finally they discovered a great river which the Indians called the Mississippi. For another

THE NEW WORLD ACCORDING TO A MAP-MAKER OF 1540

year the explorers wandered west of the Mississippi through the forests and swamps now within Arkansas. Here, worn out by hardships and ill with malarial fever, De Soto died and was buried secretly in the waters of the Mississippi. His followers were afraid that the Indians, if they knew of the death of the leader, would kill the whole band. The explorers sought in vain for rich treasures such as Cortés had found in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru. Scarcely half of the original six hundred survived. The remnant of the once

fine army built boats and floated down the Mississippi and found their way to Mexico.

Coronado, Explorer of the Southwest. — Coronado and De Soto at one time nearly met on the plains west of the Mississippi. Coronado started in 1540 from western Mexico, near the Gulf of California. He planned to find the Seven Cities of Cibola, which he hoped would be as rich in booty as Mexico or Peru. But the Seven Cities of Cibola existed only in the imagination of the Spaniards, who believed that centuries before seven Spanish bishops, fleeing before their heathen enemies, had crossed the ocean and built seven great cities. The only cities that Coronado found were the pueblos of the Indians — groups of houses made of stone and sun-dried clay. Coronado's army did not give up its search until it reached the region now included in Kansas. This was in 1541, when De Soto was distant only nine days' march. They then turned back, a sadly disappointed band of men.

AN INDIAN VILLAGE
After a drawing made in 1585 now in the British Museum

St. Augustine, the Oldest Town in the United States. — None of Coronado's or De Soto's followers cared to settle in the lands which they had explored. They had not found that for which they were looking. The principal Spanish settlements for many years were in Mexico, Peru, and Cuba.

About twenty years after De Soto's expedition the Spanish king sent Menendez to Florida to found settlements. In order to succeed he was obliged to drive away the French, who had recently built a fort near the mouth of the St. John's River. Menendez had another reason for attacking them; he was a Roman Catholic and they were Protestants. Most Frenchmen were Catholics, but these men were Protestants. In those days Catholics and Protestants did not live peaceably together. The French called the settlement Fort Caroline,[1] after the king who reigned in France. In the battles which took place Menendez was successful, and he either killed or drove away all the French. The settlement which he founded in 1565 was called St. Augustine, and it is the oldest town in the United States.

THE OLD CITY GATE AT ST. AUGUSTINE

Spanish Emigrants and Indians. — The king of Spain did not encourage his people to cross the Atlantic to his new lands, and the result was that the settlements grew slowly. But by the year 1600 about 200,000 Spaniards were living in America. Besides, there were 5,000,000 Indians on the mainland, many of whom they had taught to live like Christian men and women. Many of these Indians were gathered in villages or "missions," where they were taught by priests or monks. Unfortunately, most of the Indians in the islands of the West Indies soon died from disease and from the hard work which the early Spanish planters and gold-seekers had compelled them to do. To take their places the Spaniards had begun to carry negro slaves over from Africa.

[1] Named for King Charles, whose name in Latin was Carolus.

First French Attempts at Settlement. — Fort Caroline was not the only settlement that the French had attempted to make. Thirty years earlier, in 1534, Jacques Cartier had explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and found the St. Lawrence River. In the following year he sailed nearly 400 miles up the great river as far as the present city of Montreal, where the Lachine or China Rapids blocked his way. Six years later he returned with a band of settlers, but the intense cold and danger from the Indians made them anxious to return to France. So the colony was given up.

CABOT MEMORIAL TOWER

Erected at Bristol, England, in memory of the first sailor from England to visit America

First English Attempts. — The English had also tried to make settlements in America. In 1497, while Columbus was still living, John Cabot, another Italian, obtained a ship from the English king and sailed westward across the stormy North Atlantic. He reached the coast of North America, but just where is not known, except that it was in the region of Nova Scotia or Labrador. For many years the English seemed to forget about the lands which he had discovered and claimed for the king of England.

But English sailors watched the Spaniards in the West Indies and in America, and envied them the riches they were gaining. During this period also England and Spain became enemies. Occasionally an English captain would plunder Spanish ships or towns just as if he was a pirate. The most famous captain in England at this time was Francis Drake, who sailed into the Pacific Ocean, robbed Spanish ships off the coast of South America, and finally found his way back to England by the route which Magellan's

sailors had followed. Queen Elizabeth made him a knight to reward him for his success.

Another Englishman, Sir Walter Raleigh, made several attempts to plant a colony on the coast of what is now North Carolina. He called the region Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen." One of these colonies, led by John White in 1587, was made up of about 150 persons, including 25 women and children. While White was in England seeking to obtain supplies and aid for the colony, the settlers were either scattered or murdered by the Indians. No trace of them was ever found.

Sir Walter Raleigh

After a painting in the collection of the Duchess of Dorset

A Century's Success. — Thus, at the end of a century of discovery and exploration, only one settlement, St. Augustine, existed within the present limits of the United States. But the knowledge of the earth had been wonderfully increased. It was certain also that in a few years the men of western Europe — English, Dutch, French, and Spaniards — would rival one another in founding settlements.

Questions

1. What great work has been done by Americans in three hundred years of history?

2. In what ways were the explorers and early settlers better off than the Indians?

3. Where did the early emigrants to America obtain their knowledge?

4. Who were the three greatest discoverers? Why did they make their voyages?

5. Why was America named for Americus Vespucius rather than for Columbus?

6. Who conquered Mexico? What other Indian country was conquered at about the same time?

7. What portions of the United States did De Soto explore? Coronado? What settlement did the Spaniards make in North America?

8. How did the Spaniards treat the Indians? Who took the place of the Indians in the West Indian Islands as laborers for the Spaniards?

9. What part of North America did the French explore? Who was their first great explorer? Why did he go up the St. Lawrence? Where did he attempt to settle? Why did he fail?

10. What part of North America did the English explore? Who were their explorers? Where did the English attempt to settle? Why did they fail?

Exercises

1. Make a list of the tools and machines which settlers had three hundred years ago and which we have now.

2. How many years ago was the first settlement made in your part of the United States? Draw a line representing three hundred years and below it a line representing the age of your town. What is the oldest building, or road, or railroad, or canal in your region?

3. Prepare a list of the principal explorers and conquerors with the places which they discovered or conquered, and the dates.

4. Study the maps of this chapter for the effect of discoveries and explorations on the knowledge of the New World. Make on the blackboard or in a notebook a copy of Behaim's globe, page 4; add coast lines and countries discovered or explored by Columbus, Magellan, De Soto, Coronado, Cabot, and Cartier, in order to show the growth of knowledge as a result of their combined work.

Important Dates:

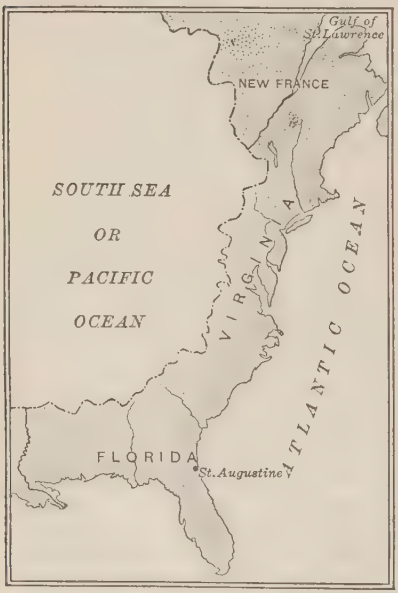
1492. The discovery of America by Columbus.
1521. One of Magellan's ships completes the first voyage around the world.
1541. The discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto.
1565. The founding of St. Augustine.

FIVE FAMOUS VOYAGES

CHAPTER II

THE NEW COUNTRY AND ITS BARRIERS

Unexplored America. — In 1600 most of the region now included in the United States was not even explored. The followers of the unfortunate De Soto had floated down the Mississippi to its mouth, and Coronado had marched over much of the Southwest, but neither they nor the other Spanish adventurers attempted to explore the region thoroughly. The French had gone no further than the Lachine Rapids on the St. Lawrence. The vast plains and forests of the upper Mississippi Valley had not been seen by white men. And yet these lands were a prize richer than Mexico or Peru, not because of silver and gold in the treasure-houses of imaginary cities, but because of the wealth of soil, forest, and mine, which would some day give work to millions of men and women.

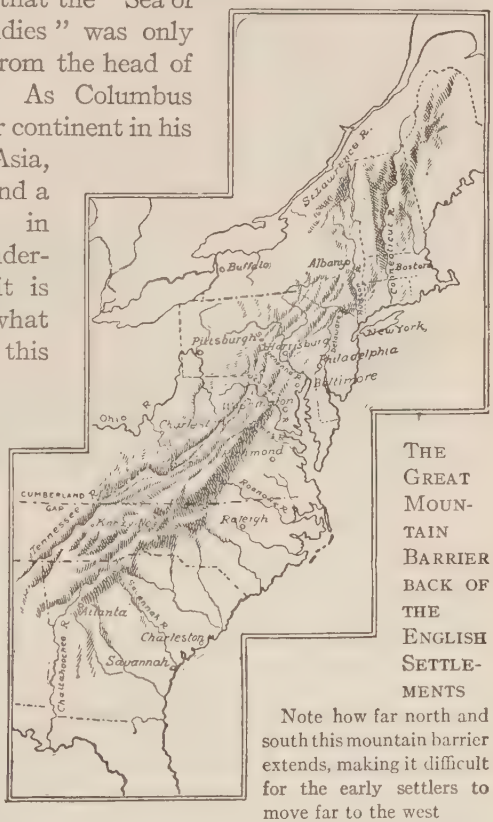


SUPPOSED EXTENT OF NORTH AMERICA

Map showing where the English, Dutch, and French explorers of about 1600 expected to find the South Sea or Pacific Ocean

The Appalachian Barrier. — The early settlements were made on the Atlantic shore or in the St. Lawrence Valley. Adventurous men were eager to explore the country west-

ward. But none of them were able to guess just what it looked like. They still thought the South Sea and the route to Asia were not far away. A mapmaker nearly fifty years after Jamestown, the first successful English settlement, was founded, said that the "Sea of China and the Indies" was only ten days' march from the head of the James River. As Columbus had found a barrier continent in his attempt to reach Asia, so the settlers found a mountain barrier in their way. To understand their task it is necessary to see what sort of an obstacle this barrier offered.



THE GREAT MOUNTAIN BARRIER BACK OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS

Note how far north and south this mountain barrier extends, making it difficult for the early settlers to move far to the west

Jamestown was built upon the coastal plain, which rises only a few feet above sea-level. Back of the coastal plain, sometimes as far as 150 miles, is a broken country, like New England in appearance, called the Piedmont,[1] and still farther back, a range of mountains. This range, the Appalachian Mountains, presented for 1,300 miles an almost unbroken wall to the advance of explorers or settlers.

Nature of the Barrier. — The Appalachians do not form a single barrier, but a system of barriers. Their eastern

[1] Piedmont: French for "foot of mountain."

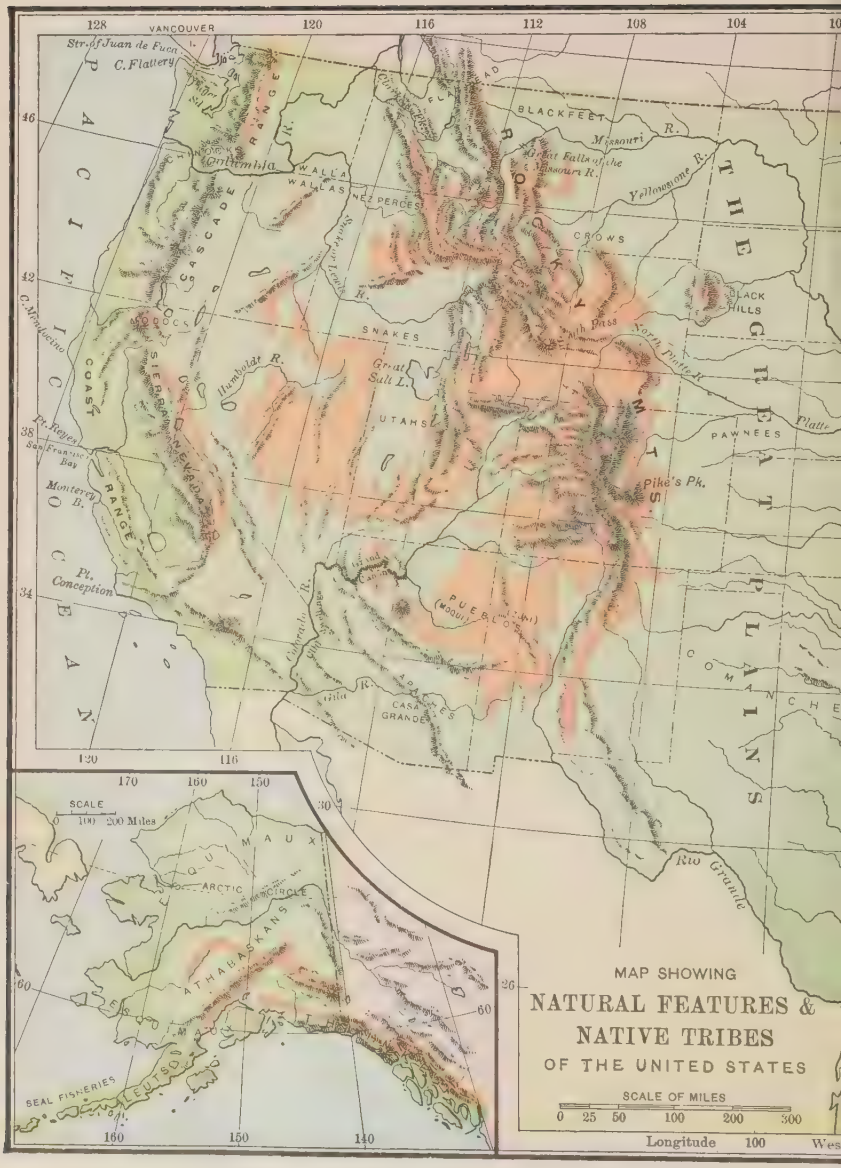
ridges fall away into low hills in eastern Pennsylvania, the highlands of New Jersey, and the palisades of the Hudson. In Maryland, Virginia, and farther south, they form a mountain range, called the Blue Ridge. West of these ridges, or of the hills which prolong them, lies the Appalachian Valley, also full of ridges difficult to cross. Still farther west rises the steep slope of the Allegheny and Cumberland plateau, a thousand or more feet in height. In Pennsylvania this is called the Allegheny Mountains. The western slope of the plateau falls away gradually towards the Mississippi River or the Great Lakes.

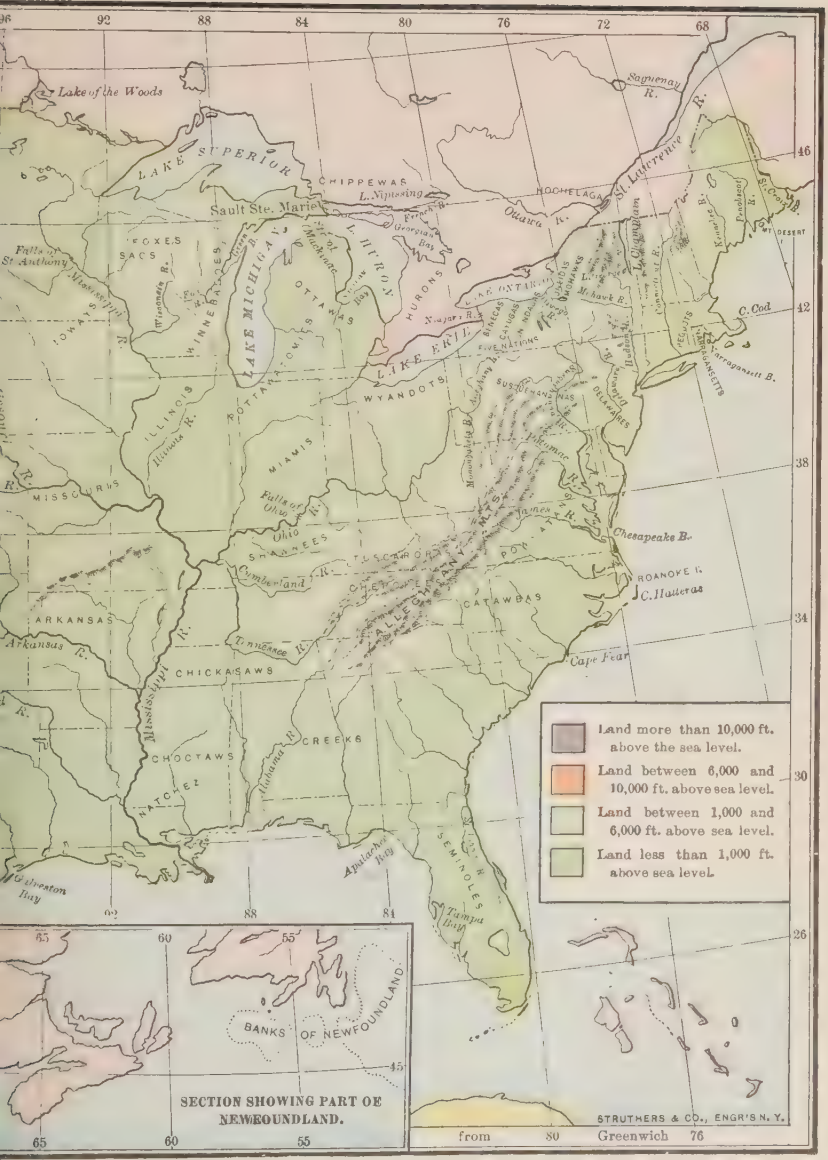
THE MOHAWK RIVER

This is the easiest passage-way from the Hudson Valley to the Great Lakes. The Erie Canal and the New York Central Railroad follow this natural route to the West

The Mohawk Passage. — The only real break in the barrier is the valley of the Mohawk, a river which flows into the Hudson near Albany. There the barrier sinks to a height of only 445 feet above sea level. Farther south the passes or passage-ways are from 1,500 to 3,000 feet high.

The Westward Flowing Rivers. — In the south as well as the north the rivers show the natural routes across the mountains. Explorers going up stream along rivers which cross the coastal plain, passing through the rough Piedmont country, and climbing the mountains beyond, would find that they were not far from the head-waters of rivers flowing westward through mountain passes into the Mississippi Valley. For example, the upper waters of the James are near the streams which make up the Kanawha and flow finally into the


MAP SHOWING
NATURAL FEATURES &
NATIVE TRIBES
OF THE UNITED STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 200 300
Longitude
VANCOUVER
Str. of Juan de Fuca
C. Flattery
PACIFIC OCEAN
CASCADE RANGE
Columbia R.
WALLA WALLAS
NEZ PERCES
BLACKFEET
Missouri R.
Great Falls of the Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
CROWS
ROCKY MTS.
THE GREAT PLAINS
BLACK HILLS
SNAKES
Great Salt L.
UTAHS
Humboldt R.
Sierra Nevada
COAST RANGE
Pt. Reyes
San Francisco Bay
Monterey B.
Pt. Conception
Pike's Pk.
PAWNEES
Platte R.
Arkansas R.
CARAJOES
GRANDE
COMANCHE
INDIANS
Rio Grande
C. Mendocino
SCALE
0 100 200 Miles
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ESQUIMAUX
ATHABASKANS
ESQUIMAUX
SEAL FISHERIES
170 160 150 140 120 116


Land more than 10,000 ft. above the sea level.
Land between 6,000 and 10,000 ft. above sea level.
Land between 1,000 and 6,000 ft. above sea level.
Land less than 1,000 ft. above sea level.
SECTION SHOWING PART OF NEWFOUNDLAND.
BANKS OF NEWFOUNDLAND
STRUTHERS & CO., ENGR'S N. Y.
from Greenwich
Lake of the Woods
Sault Ste. Marie
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
Saguenay R.
St. Lawrence R.
Ottawa R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Chesapeake B.
C. Cod
C. Hatteras
Cape Fear
Galveston Bay
Apalachee Bay
Tampa Bay
CHIPPEWAS
FOXES
SACS
IOWAS
WINNEBAGOES
OTTAWAS
POTTAWATOMIES
ILLINOIS
MIAMIS
SHAWNEES
WYANDOTS
HURONS
IROQUOIS
MOHEGANS
MOHAWKS
DELAWARES
SUSQUEHANNAS
ABENAKIS
PENOBSCOTS
NARRAGANSETTS
ROANOKE I.
CATAWBAS
CHICKASAWS
CHOCTAWS
CREEKS
NATCHEZ
SEMINOLES
ALLEGHANY MTS.
APPALACHIAN MTS.
WHITE MTS.
MT. DESERT
46
42
38
34
30
26
92
88
84
80
76
72
68
65
60
55
45

Ohio. By following the course of other rivers, explorers could find the sources of the Tennessee, which makes its way into the Ohio near the Mississippi. But all this was very difficult, because in many places neither boats nor canoes could be used, and the journey must be made on foot, often through trackless forests or underbrush, and along steep and rocky hillsides.

The Best Passages. — The Appalachian barrier explains why more than a century passed before the English settlers on the coast found their way, except in rare cases, to the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. The French who settled at Quebec and Montreal were much more conveniently situated. If they succeeded in opening a route to the Great Lakes, they could reach several places from which, by short carries or portages,[1] they could go in canoes into the Mississippi. Had the Spaniards used the knowledge De Soto's followers carried back, they might have been still better off, and have entered the great valley from the south. The Dutch settlers on Manhattan Island and the banks of the Hudson were better situated than the English in New England and in Virginia, because from the Hudson they could follow up the valley of the Mohawk. But something besides the Appalachians kept the Dutch, as well as other settlers, from venturing far westward. This second obstacle was the Indian tribes.

The Indian Barrier. — Columbus had seen Indians as soon as he discovered San Salvador. Cortés had conquered the Aztec Indians in Mexico. Coronado had visited the Zuñi Indians of the southwest, and had seen others on the plains farther north. De Soto had fought with Indians many times in his struggle through the southern forests to the banks of the Mississippi. To meet or fight with Indians was, therefore, nothing new for the settlers of America.

How the Indians lived. — The northern Indians were more barbarous than the Zuñis or Aztecs. They did not live in towns like the pueblos, or like those in Mexico. Most of their houses were merely rude tents of skins or bark. They

[1] Places where two bodies of water are near together.

raised tobacco, corn, and a few vegetables, the women doing all the work. The men did little but hunt or fight neighboring tribes. Until they obtained guns from the settlers, the Indians used bows and arrows. Their arrows and spearheads were of flint. Their axes and their bowls also were of stone. They were very glad to obtain steel knives and axes from the settlers, for stone tools are hard to work with.

The Territories of the Indians; the Iroquois. — The Indians had many chiefs, but no government like that of civilized peoples. A tribe might be made up of many

A Dwelling House of the Iroquois

villages. Its lands had no fixed boundaries or frontiers, but its members knew their hunting grounds, and were ready to fight against any one who entered them. Sometimes tribes were united in a confederacy by agreements or treaties. Such a confederacy was the Iroquois, or "Five Nations," who lived in the region now included in New York, northern Pennsylvania, and northeastern Ohio. Had the settlers tried to force a way through the Mohawk Valley, the Iroquois would have disputed every step.

Other Indian Tribes. — The Indians in Canada and what is now New England were Algonquins, enemies of the Iroquois. The Indians whose lands lay just beyond the line of early southern settlements were the Cherokees, — related to the Iroquois, — and the Creeks and Choctaws, who belonged to another great family called the Muskogee.

The Struggle for the New Country. — In studying the early history of America we shall first see how the settlements were made and how the settlers lived. We shall then follow some of the more venturesome settlers as they pushed along the rivers and across the mountains to the newer lands farther west. These hardy pioneers were often helped by the Indians, who acted as huntsmen and guides. Occasionally they were forced to fight the red men, who feared that they would take away the hunting grounds. There is still another story, and this tells of rivalries among the settlers themselves. The Spaniards, the English, the Dutch, and the French meant to gain as much of the great prize of lands along the Atlantic shore or beyond the mountain barriers as they could. So they quarrelled with one another. At times also their home countries were at war, and these wars spread to the new country. To understand our early history we must remember these struggles between different peoples. We shall find first one then another gaining advantageous positions, until at last English speaking people controlled all the country north of Spanish Mexico.

Questions

1. What barrier held back the early explorers and settlers? What was the Piedmont country?

2. What natural break was there in the barrier? Why were the Dutch and the French better situated than the English for entering the West? What other barrier kept back the Dutch?

3. How did the Indians live? Where were the Iroquois located? The Algonquins? The Cherokees?

4. What struggles formed the early history of America?

Exercises

1. Draw a map of the Appalachian barrier and of the routes across or around it to the Mississippi Valley. Are there similar barriers or river routes in your region?

2. Gather pictures of Indian objects, tools, houses, and the like, which show their manner of life.

3. Locate on an outline map of North America the hunting grounds of the Indian tribes which the early settlers knew. What Indians once lived in, or roamed over, the region in which you live?

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF VIRGINIA

The Virginia Company. — Sir Walter Raleigh had spent on his ventures a sum almost equal to a million dollars, according to the present value of money, and yet he had failed, partly for a lack of money. Some of his fellow countrymen thought a company could obtain more, and would succeed. Already an East India Company had been formed for trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope. On a similar plan a stock company or corporation was formed in 1606. Queen Elizabeth had died, and James I was on the throne. From him the company obtained the right to settle in America between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude. The region was still called Virginia, as Raleigh had named it. The company was, therefore, called the Virginia Company.[1] It was made up of noblemen, wealthy landholders, and rich merchants. Each one who gave a sum equal to $300 became owner or proprietor of a share, and was, of course, entitled to a part of the profits coming from trade with the Indians or from discoveries of gold.

"**Eastward Ho!**" — Some members of the company bought shares in the enterprise because they thought it patriotic to obtain lands in America for the king. Others wanted to Christianize the Indians. Still others expected to increase their fortunes. A popular play, called *Eastward Ho!* put on the stage in 1605, spoke of Virginia as a land where gold was more plentiful than copper in England. This play also

[1] The company was made up of two groups, one of Londoners, the others of men from the west of England. The first group was called the London Company, the second the Plymouth Company. It was the London Company which founded Jamestown.

said that the natives went out on holidays to gather rubies and diamonds to hang on their children's coats and to stick in their caps. Such tales were like those which caused De Soto to search for the Gilded Man, and Coronado for the Seven Cities of Cibola.

The Spaniards aroused. — Two years before the Virginia Company was formed King James had made peace with the king of Spain, so that the company's ships were not likely to be attacked on their way to America. But when the Spaniards heard that Englishmen were going to the New World, the Spanish ambassador at London declared that America was all a part of the Indies, which belonged to his king. King James listened politely, but said that there could be no wrong in settling on lands which the Spaniards had not occupied.

The First English Emigrants. — The first emigrants[1] who set out for Virginia just before Christmas in 1606 were ill-prepared for the work before them. About half were young men belonging to the gentry, or lesser nobility of England, who had never done a day's work. They were eager for gold and for adventure. Several of the emigrants were carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and other skilled laborers. The remainder were poor workmen from the farm districts, with a few worthless criminals and vagabonds from London. No women went on this first voyage. All the men were offered free passage to Virginia, and food, clothing, and shelter while in the employ of the company. When the company should be dissolved, the emigrants were to share in the profits and receive a part of the land.

The First Voyage. — The voyage to America was then very different from the voyage of emigrants nowadays. The ships were hardly bigger than those which Columbus had

[1] The word "emigrants," rather than "immigrants," is used here and in the chapters which follow as long as the principal thought is movement from Europe to America. When the colonies become the United States, the point of view is reversed. In treating the later movements from Europe, therefore, the word "immigrants" will be used.

used a hundred years before. Instead of attempting to sail straight across the stormy North Atlantic, the sailors followed the route of the Spaniards, stopping at the Canary Islands and at several of the West India Islands. Contrary winds delayed them off the English coast for two months. Their provisions consisted mainly of salt meat and barley or wheat flour. Long before their five months' voyage was over the barley spoiled. Fortunately, in the islands where they stopped they caught fish and birds for food. But by the time they landed, on May 14, 1607, 16 of the 120 men had died.

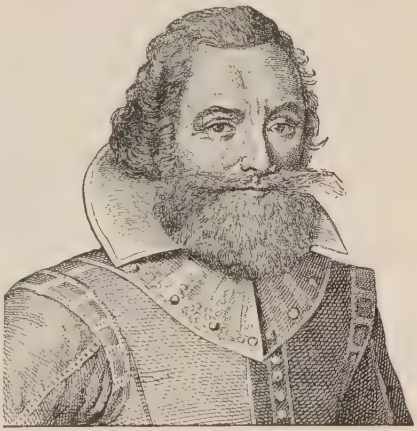
MAP OF EARLY VIRGINIA

Jamestown was located about 32 miles from Old Point Comfort on the James River. The wide deep rivers which flowed into the Chesapeake Bay seemed more like straits than rivers

Settlement of Jamestown. — All were delighted to escape from the close, filthy quarters on shipboard and wander about on the Virginia shore that May morning in 1607. Even those who did not know how to work were willing at first to help in felling trees and clearing the land for tents and a fort. The fort was a rough affair, made by laying trunks and branches of trees end to end around a half acre. Some hurried off to see if Chesapeake Bay was the passage to the Indies for which so many sailors were looking. If it was, the founders of the colony would be well paid for the time and money they had expended. Others cut out clapboards to send back to England when the ships returned. Still others planted a small field of wheat. They made a garden, but the season for planting was already past, and the seeds did not do well. This was a great misfortune, be-

cause they had little left on their ships to eat during the months before another season would open. In June the ships sailed back to England for supplies, but it was seven months before they came again.

Early Troubles at Jamestown. — Meanwhile two thirds of those left on shore died of hunger or disease. Jamestown was situated on a low tongue of land, with marshes all about. Soon malarial fever attacked the settlers. They had no pure water to drink, and were obliged to use the river water, which at high tide was salt and at low tide slimy. Most of them lived in bark or brush tents. The only buildings were a few rude huts, a storehouse, and a chapel.



Captain John Smith

After a drawing in Smith's *Description of New England*

The Starving Time. — The arrival of the ships in January, 1608, helped for a while, because they had fresh supplies on board, but they also brought more emigrants, which meant more mouths to feed. Several times in the next few years the settlement was on the verge of ruin. The winter of 1609 and 1610 was long known as the Starving Time. After all supplies were consumed, the settlers ate their dogs and horses. Barely sixty men were living when spring came. During the first three years the company sent out more than 300 emigrants, but at the end of that time only eighty were left.

Captain John Smith. — The hero of those years of suffering was Captain John Smith. Every one knows the story of his capture by the Indians and of his rescue by Pocahontas, the

chieftain's daughter. There are other things better worth remembering about him. Soon after his return to Jamestown he was made governor. He forced the idle and lazy to work, making the rule that "he who would not work should not eat." In a short time all were busy chopping down trees, hewing out lumber, and gathering pitch. The settlement took on an air of life and energy. Smith also saved the settlers from starvation by opening a profitable trade with the Indians. When the Indians saw that the colonists were in distress, they tried to drive hard bargains, offering only small pieces of bread or a few beans for a piece of copper or a hatchet. Smith found that the Indians liked colored beads. His men also learned to make chisels and hatchets from the iron they discovered in Virginia. When every other way failed, he compelled the Indians to trade. They dared not refuse, for his guns were more dangerous than their bows and arrows. Unfortunately, in 1609 he was hurt by an explosion of powder, and went to England to have his wounds cared for. He never returned to Virginia.

Jamestown not a Real Settlement. — In 1610 the company sent over a harsh governor, who tried to make the colonists work better by introducing the strict discipline of an army post. The day's work began at six with beat of drum. When it closed in the afternoon, all were marched to the church for prayers. One reason why the men did not work well was that they were working for the company and not for themselves. Whatever they produced went to the company's storehouse. The garden and the wheat fields belonged to the company. The men were fed and clothed from the common stock. Life at Jamestown was more like that of a lumber or mining camp than of an ordinary town.

Working for the Company. — The men who were not busy producing the food needed for the settlement worked to obtain loads for the company's ships. Lumber was about the only thing which could be produced at first. Once the Virginians thought they had found gold dust and sent part of a cargo of it to England. Not until the ship arrived at

the wharf in England was it discovered that the gold dust was only yellow sand.

A Change in the Company's Plans. — In 1614 Governor Dale made an important change in the management of the settlement in order to encourage industry. He allotted to a few of the older colonists three acres of land apiece, expecting them to pay as rent two and one half barrels of corn an

RUINS OF THE BRICK CHURCH BUILT AT JAMESTOWN IN 1639

The site of Jamestown was low and damp: the high tides almost separated it from the mainland; but this made it easy to defend

acre, and to work for the company thirty days each year. The plan was so successful that the company stopped sending men over to work for it directly. The company also encouraged rich men to take large farms in Virginia and supply their own laborers.

Plantations. — These new settlers may be called planters and their farms plantations. Their number increased, while the number of men working for the company decreased. The company was obliged to content itself with the rent of its land, and the trade carried on between England and Virginia.

Indentured Servants. — The planters obtained laborers by offering free passage, food, clothing, and shelter to men willing to go to Virginia, but who had no money to pay their

expenses. These men in return agreed to become servants of the planters for four, five, six, or sometimes even seven years. They were commonly called indentured servants, because they gave a bond or indenture, pledging them to serve. When their term of service ended, they could work for wages. As land was plentiful they might soon be able to secure farms. Sometimes a poor but ambitious young man would choose this means of seeking his fortune in Virginia.

The First Slaves. — The first settlers in Virginia did not follow the example of the Spaniards and make slaves of the Indians. The main reason was that it was so easy for them to run away and find refuge among the other Indians of the region. Indians were frequently hired to hunt and fish for the planters. In 1619 a Dutch sea-captain stopped at Jamestown, having on board his ship some negroes whom he had stolen from the Spaniards in the West Indies. He sold 20 of them to the planters. But it was a long time before many negro slaves were brought into the colony. The cost of slaves varied from $100 to $250, while five, six, or seven years' service of an indentured servant cost from $50 to $75.

Beginnings of Family Life at Jamestown. — Up to 1619 few women had arrived at Jamestown. The settlers did not wish to marry Indian women, as many of the Spanish colonists had, although John Rolfe, a prosperous planter, married Pocahontas. The company now concluded, in the quaint phrase of the time, "that a plantation can never flourish till families be planted and . . . wives and children fix the people to the soil." Accordingly the company sent ninety young women to Virginia. The understanding was that a settler desiring a wife must gain the consent of the woman he chose and must pay her passage, which amounted to 120 pounds of tobacco. The plan was so successful that the company sent out many other young women.

Growth of the Colony. — Life in Virginia gradually became more attractive. Whole families began to come from England of their own accord. The older settlers built larger houses in place of their rude huts. They sent for horses

and cattle. The plantations increased in number as the newcomers settled along the river courses. On the James they spread as far as the falls where Richmond is situated.

The English Attempts to cross the Barrier. — The great Appalachian barrier, which faced the English settlements, kept the English from reaching the Mississippi Valley. But they made brave efforts, lured on by the hope of finding an "Indian Sea." In September, 1671, two Virginians, Captain Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam, after crossing

THE WHARF AT UPPER BRANDON

At such wharves ships from England or the neighboring colonies could unload at the planter's door, and take on cargoes of tobacco or other farm products

the rough Piedmont country and climbing the Blue Ridge, discovered a river flowing northwest. This was the New River, which lower becomes the Kanawha. They went on until they reached a place near the present boundary of Virginia and West Virginia. Two years later James Needham succeeded in crossing the Blue Ridge farther south and reaching the head-waters of the Tennessee.

Why the English could wait. — It was fortunate that few Englishmen were tempted by such ventures. The settlements on the coast needed all who came from Europe to clear the fields, plant crops, build towns, and open trade with one another and with Europe. There would be time enough to

conquer the Mississippi Valley after a newer England had grown up on the Atlantic coast.

Rivers the Roads of Virginia. — The rivers were the highways connecting one plantation with another. Roads were almost unknown. Each planter had a wharf, at which sea-going ships could unload furniture, tools, cloth, and many other things, taking the planter's crop in exchange. In such a country market-towns were not needed and were very scarce. Families used the river highways in visiting or going to church, being rowed by their servants or slaves.

Finding Wealth. — The officers of the company expected to find the main profits of the enterprise in gold mines, just as the Spaniards had been made rich by the mines of Mexico and Peru. When their explorers discovered no mines, they tried to make a profit by sending pitch, tar, and other naval supplies to England. The settlers in Virginia soon found something profitable to grow. This was tobacco.

Raising Tobacco. — At first the tobacco which the Indians raised seemed too bitter, but John Rolfe learned how to cure it in such a manner that it found a ready sale in the London market. King James hated tobacco and tried to keep his subjects from using it. The governor of Virginia also thought that raising tobacco would take time from more useful labor and made a rule that no farmer should plant tobacco until he had planted two acres of corn. Still, tobacco fields spread in spite of the law. At Jamestown, in the spring of 1617, the market-place and even the borders of the streets were set with the plants. This is not surprising, for a single pound sometimes brought in London as much as $12 in present money. The price fell as more was raised, but tobacco continued to be the chief product on which the planters depended for profit.

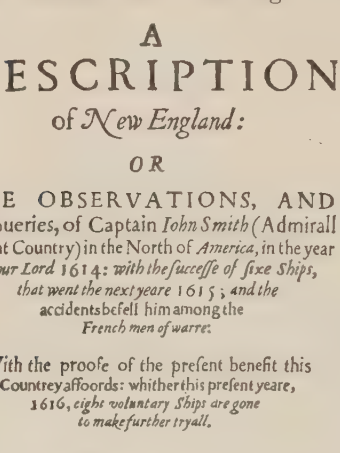
The dried leaves were so convenient to handle that they became the money of the day, bound together in pound or hundred-pound packages. The price of everything was reckoned in pounds of tobacco. The salaries of public officers and of clergymen, as well as all debts, were also paid with it.

The First Virginia Assembly. — The officers of the Virginia Company had already decided to rent the land and sell it to planters, instead of managing it themselves. Soon they shared the government of the colony with the settlers. They hoped in this way to give the colonists a deeper interest in the welfare of the settlements. They were at the same time following closely in the footsteps of their ancestors. Far back in the Middle Ages the people of England had expected the king to ask the advice of representatives of the towns

How the Colonists built their New Homes

before he spent money which the towns raised. Why should the Englishmen who managed the affairs of the company be less just to their settlers than the king was obliged to be to them? Accordingly the company, in 1619, invited the chief settlements each to choose two delegates to form an assembly or little "parliament." This assembly assisted the governor of the colony and his council. At first it numbered 22 members, and met in the wooden church at Jamestown. It may appear like a small and unimportant body, but the Virginia Assembly of 1619 was the forerunner of every state legislature of the present day.

The English Laws obeyed in Virginia. — The custom of governing themselves by representatives was not the only custom that the settlers brought over from England. The year after the meeting of the first Virginia Assembly, the company decided to select from the English laws those rules which might apply to ways of living in the colony. A little later, the judges in Virginia were required to promise to "do justice as near as may be" to the way justice was done in England. Trial by jury was one way which was as old as parliament.


A
DESCRIPTION
of *New England:*
OR
THE OBSERVATIONS, AND discoueries, of Captain *John Smith* (Admirall of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year *of our Lord* 1614: *with the succesſe of ſixe Ships, that went the next yeare* 1615; *and the* accidents befell him among the *French men of warre.*

With the proofe of the preſent benefit this Countrey affoords: whither this preſent yeare, 1616, *eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall.*

At LONDON
Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and are to be ſould at his houſe called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, ouer againſt Lincolnes Inne. 1616.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF A BOOK THAT JOHN SMITH WROTE

Schools and Books. — Many of the early settlers were educated men and were anxious to have their children educated. They were at first obliged to engage private teachers or send their sons to English schools. They brought books with them from England. Some of them enjoyed reading books written by the Greeks and Romans. The Englishman in Virginia was much like the Englishman who remained in England. He did his farming differently, and that was about all.

Number of Virginians. — Nearly 7,000 settlers had come at one time or another since 1607, but most of them had perished of hardships and disease. The Indians surprised the settlers in 1622 and killed 347. In 1624 Virginia had a population of 1,232 colonists, including 23 negro slaves.

End of the Virginia Company. — King James did not long permit the Virginia Company to manage the colony. In 1624 he took away its privileges, expecting to control the colony more directly. Neither he nor his successors interfered much with it. He appointed the governor, but the settlers usually managed their own affairs.

Questions

1. Who were the first emigrants to Virginia? Why did they go out to settle under a trading company? What route did their ship follow?

2. What work did the early settlers do? Why did they suffer so much? What did Captain John Smith do for them?

3. In what ways was life at Jamestown more like a lumber camp or a mining camp than an ordinary town? What change in the company's plans did Governor Dale introduce?

4. What was an indentured servant? Did they cost more or less than slaves? Which worked for the planters the longer — slaves or servants?

5. What did the company do in order to introduce family life more fully into its colony?

6. What Englishmen crossed the great barrier into the West? By what route? Why was it better for the English to remain longer east of the barrier?

7. What use did the settlers make of rivers in Virginia? What profitable crop did they find?

8. Why did the Virginia Company share the government with the colonists? How large was the colony in 1624? Why had the colony grown slowly?

9. Why did King James deprive the Virginia Company of its privileges? Did he carry out his plan?

Exercises

1. Learn about some one of the many state legislatures in the United States — where it holds its sessions, how many members it has, what it does — and then compare it with the first Virginia Assembly.

2. Find the Old-World customs which the Virginians followed in their new country.

3. Are there any families in your neighborhood whose ancestors came from Virginia?

Important Dates:

1607. The founding of Jamestown by the Virginia Company.
1619. The first Virginia Assembly at Jamestown.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXILES FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE AT PLYMOUTH

The Separatists. — Virginia had its origin in the plans of a trading company, and was in the main a business venture. Quite different was the beginning of Plymouth colony. Queen Elizabeth and her successor, King James, like most people of their time in England and Europe, thought that everybody ought to attend the religious services ordered by law. Some of their subjects, however, believed that they had a right to form congregations and manage their religious affairs undisturbed by the government. This led to their being called "Independents" or "Separatists." They disliked, besides, the manner of conducting the ordinary services of the English Church. When they tried to organize small independent churches, where they could worship in their own way, royal officials hunted them out and punished them by fines and imprisonment. If after three months' imprisonment they refused to obey, they could be expelled from the kingdom and their property seized.

Exiles in Holland. — In 1607 and 1608 rather than run the risk of losing all their property, as well as of being sent into exile, many Separatists, especially from the farming region near Lincoln and York, crossed the North Sea to the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Leyden. They could worship as they chose in Holland, but they found that only by the severest toil, including the labor of their children, could they make a living. They soon realized that their children were likely to forget the English language and English customs, marry into Dutch families, and perhaps enter the Dutch army and navy. Some of the older people returned to England, preferring to risk imprisonment rather than cease

being English. One congregation living at Leyden, of which John Robinson was the pastor, decided to go to America. They expected to find land and a chance to worship as they believed. They were, however, too poor to go so far without help. Accordingly they sent two of their number to London to secure money to carry out their plan.

The Plan to emigrate to America. — Some London merchants were persuaded to advance £1,200, equivalent to nearly $30,000 in money to-day, with which to hire ships and sailors and buy supplies. The understanding was that each subscriber of £10 was to own a share. Each of the Pilgrims,

MANOR HOUSE AT SCROOBY, ENGLAND
William Brewster's residence

as the members of this emigrant band were called, was also to receive a share. Both people and money were needed to found a colony. All that the colonists could gain during the first seven years by labor or by trade with the Indians, except what was needed for their daily support, was to belong to the common stock. When the seven years were up, this stock was to be divided with the London merchants who had aided them.

The Pilgrims. — Only a part of the Pilgrim congregation left Leyden in the first expedition. There was neither room on the ship nor money enough for all. Robinson remained in Leyden with the others, who needed him more. William

Brewster, a printer and writer, and next to Robinson the leading man of the congregation, joined the party of emigrants and became their pastor. Among them was William Bradford, a born leader of men, and later the historian of the colony. Miles Standish, a soldier in Holland during the recent war with Spain, also joined the Pilgrims. Two others were John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, about whom the poet Longfellow has told a pretty story.

Departure of the Pilgrims from Delft Haven

From a famous old Dutch painting

Their Voyage. — The Pilgrims left Holland in the summer of 1620. After many delays in England, a company of 102 sailed from Plymouth, September 6, in the ship *Mayflower*. For nine weeks the little company was tossed about on the rough seas of the North Atlantic, living in narrow, unwholesome quarters, as the first emigrants to Virginia had done thirteen years before.

Choosing a Place for Settlement. — The Pilgrims had planned to settle somewhere in the neighborhood of the Hudson or the Delaware River, in what was then regarded as the northern part of Virginia. But after the *Mayflower* passed Cape Cod it came upon dangerous shoals. The

stormy season had set in, and winter was fast coming on. The plan to go farther was, therefore, abandoned, and a site for a settlement was sought nearer at hand.

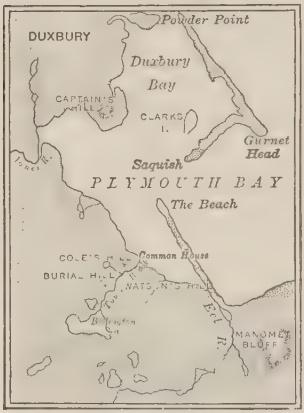
The "Mayflower" Compact. — Steps were also taken to ensure orderly government in the colony after landing. The men held a meeting in the cabin of the *Mayflower*,

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND

chose one of their number, John Carver, to be their governor, and signed a solemn compact or agreement to submit to the laws which should be made by the majority.

Beginnings of Plymouth. — A party of explorers in a boat left the ship at Cape Cod and explored the coast. On Monday, December 21, 1620, they landed at a place which Captain John Smith had already seen. He had given the name New England to the region from Nova Scotia to Cape Cod, and the name Plymouth to the well-sheltered harbor into

which the Pilgrims now sailed.[1] This also happened to be the name of the last English port which they had seen. They found a protected harbor, running brooks, and cleared land at Plymouth, and decided to locate there. Several days later the *Mayflower* came to anchor in the harbor and the men began building the first houses. Lots were given to each family in proportion to the number of members. The women and children and the sick remained for weeks aboard the ship. Before the first winter was over several small houses had been built, with the sides of rudely squared logs and the roofs thatched with dry swamp grass. One served as a storehouse for tools and provisions. Into the others the families moved as soon as they were able.



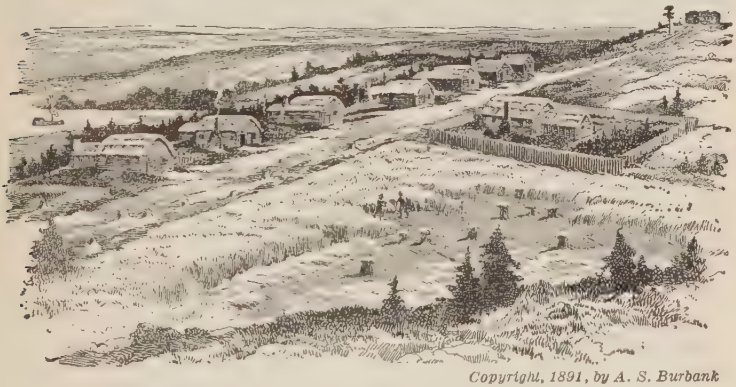
PLYMOUTH HARBOR

The First Winter. — Prolonged ship life and exposure in a strange climate made havoc in the Pilgrim colony. When the first warm weather of the spring came barely half the colonists were living. Governor Carver died in April, 1621. Eighteen married women had come over in the *Mayflower;* only four of them still lived. The graves of the dead were carefully covered and planted with corn in the spring in order to conceal from the Indians the ravages of disease in the little colony.

[1] In 1614 Captain John Smith, having recovered from his accident in Virginia, made a voyage of exploration along the American coast from Maine to Cape Cod. He wrote a description of what he called New England, and also drew a map of the region. He presented the map to Prince Charles, then a boy of fifteen, who afterward became King Charles I. Charles and Smith changed about 30 barbarous Indian names to familiar English and Scotch names, mostly places in which the young prince was interested. Accomacke was changed to Plymouth.

Fear of the Indians. — The Pilgrims were fortunately free from trouble with the Indians. A recent pestilence had carried off most of those of the neighborhood, and left their cleared corn fields ready for the settlers to plant. The settlers were, however, always on their guard against attack. Whether in the field or wood, at church or at town meeting, each had his gun by his side. Their leader in arms was Captain Miles Standish, who, like Captain John Smith, was a brave and skilful soldier.

Friendly Indians. — The colonists were surprised on a fair morning toward the end of March, while many were still



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A View of Plymouth in 1622

sick, at the sudden appearance of a solitary Indian in their village. He advanced boldly, and gave them the good old English greeting of "Welcome!" He proved to be a chief from the far-off Maine coast who was visiting Indians nearby. His name was Samoset. He had learned English from the fishing vessels that annually visited his region. A few days afterward Samoset reappeared, bringing an Indian named Squanto, the only survivor of the tribe that had formerly inhabited the region around Plymouth. Squanto had once been captured and carried to England and had learned English. Samoset and Squanto brought a chieftain named Massasoit to visit the white men. In this way the Indians of

the neighborhood became friendly with the settlers. Squanto taught them how to hunt, and where to get fish, and helped them to procure corn and furs from the Indians. He showed them how to plant corn, placing a fish in each hole in order to fertilize the poor soil.

A New Kind of Money. — In trading with the Indians the colonists learned to use, in place of money, strings of beads made from clam-shells. The shells were first broken into small pieces, then chipped and ground into a round form. A hole was bored through the center, and finally the polished

A Piece of Wampum

beads were strung together on fibers of hemp or on sinews of deer. Six white beads, or three purple beads, were counted as worth a penny.

The First Thanksgiving Day. — The settlers at first had no horses or oxen or even plows, but many of them were farmers and they were soon able to raise corn, wheat, rye, barley, and peas enough for their wants. When their first harvest was gathered, they decided to set apart a few days for rest and thanksgiving. Massasoit and his tribe were asked to join them in the season of festivity. Ninety Indians came to Plymouth. These native guests remained three days. They contributed five deer as their share. The Indians amused the white men with wild, frolicsome games, and the settlers in turn entertained them with military tactics and evolutions. Each day was opened with a religious service. This was the first Thanksgiving in New England.

End of the Partnership. — Emigrants joined the Pilgrims during the following years, so that the colony increased in numbers. The newcomers were in part from John Robinson's church in Leyden, and in part directly from England. In 1624 some cattle were brought into the settlement. In one way, however, the colony did not seem successful. The

colonists could find little except lumber or beaver skins to send to their partners in London. In 1627 they purchased the shares held there, agreeing to pay the London merchants in nine annual instalments. The Pilgrims managed to keep their agreement by establishing posts on the Kennebec River, Penobscot Bay, and the Connecticut River, from which they carried on a trade in furs with the more distant Indians.

Dividing the Land. — The system of joint labor on common fields which had prevailed during the early years came to an end at about the same time. The better lands near Plymouth were divided by lot among the settlers in twenty-acre portions. The poorer land and the meadows at some distance away were left in common for a few years longer. The domestic animals, also owned in common, were distributed. There was not much to divide. Every thirteen persons secured a cow and two goats in the division.

Growth of Plymouth. — The people who came later took up lands lying along the coast north and south of Plymouth and sometimes at a considerable distance inland. For a time such frontier settlers took part in the town meetings at Plymouth and attended church there, but within a few years separate towns were organized and new churches built. An emigrant ship bound for Virginia was driven ashore at Plymouth. A few who "carried themselves very orderly" were allowed to remain, while the others, being "untoward people," were compelled to go on to Virginia. By 1643 there were ten towns in Plymouth colony, and a total population of 3,000. The town of Plymouth remained the center of the colony, the residence of the governor, and the place where the colonial assembly of delegates from the other towns held its sessions.

Questions

1. What did the Separatists or Independents in England want to do? How were they treated when they tried to organize their own churches? Where did some of them go? Why did they soon grow discontented in the new location? Where did they decide to go?

2. Why were the Separatists who came to America called Pilgrims?

How did they obtain money to pay their passage and start the settlement? Who were the leaders? Did all start from Holland?

3. Where had the Pilgrims planned to settle? Where did they decide to settle? Why did they choose Plymouth?

4. What did the Pilgrims do the first winter? How many lived till spring? Why had they met with such hardships and losses? In what ways did the Indians aid them?

5. What is the origin of Thanksgiving Day?

6. How did the Pilgrims finally arrange terms with their London partners? Was this the original plan?

7. What progress had the colony made by 1643?

Exercises

1. How do the terms that the Pilgrims made with their partners in London differ from those that the Virginians made with the Virginia Company?

2. Learn all you can about Thanksgiving customs. Compare the mode of keeping the day now with the first Thanksgiving Day.

Important Date :

1620. The Pilgrims begin a colony at Plymouth.

THE "MAYFLOWER"

From the model in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington. The *Mayflower* was 90 feet long, 20 feet wide, and with a depth of hold of 14 feet

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND

The Puritans or Nonconformists. — Many people in England sympathized with the Pilgrims in the desire that the church be " purified " of most of its ceremonies. For this reason they were called Puritans. They did not separate from the church, but often refused to worship as the law required. In other words, they would not " conform," and were also called " Nonconformists." This made King James very angry, and he threatened to drive them out of the kingdom if they did not conform.

King and Parliament. — The Puritans, and many other Englishmen, did not approve of the manner in which King James spent the royal income. Part of the money came from taxes or dues which the king had no right to collect without asking parliament. When his requests were laid before it, some members were sure to complain of what he was doing. He therefore seldom called parliament together. King James died before the quarrel became serious.

Charles I tries to rule without Parliament. — Charles I, who became king in 1625, quarrelled with parliament more violently than his father. When he needed money, he also ordered the sheriffs to collect sums, which he called " loans," from all persons rich enough to pay. If they refused to pay, the royal officers threw them into prison. In 1628 parliament asked Charles to sign the " Petition of Right," which was really a promise not to do any of these things again. When he did not keep his promise, the quarrel grew fiercer than ever, and Charles dismissed parliament, resolving not to call it together again.

Puritans begin to think of Emigration. — Charles also saw to it that the laws about worship were carried out, whether the people liked the laws or not. The Puritans, accordingly, had a double reason to be discontented with the way matters were going in England. Many began to think of imitating the Pilgrims and emigrating to America. Several, of whom John Endicott was the leader, had already obtained lands north of the Plymouth settlement, extending as far as the present boundary of New Hampshire. They had also formed the Massachusetts Bay Company, hoping to make profits from the fisheries and fur trade as well as to settle their lands.

JOHN WINTHROP
After the original in the Massachusetts Senate Chamber

The Massachusetts Bay Company. — In 1629, after Charles had angrily dismissed parliament, a large number of influential Puritans resolved to emigrate to the lands of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Among them were some of the principal men in the company. The other members agreed that those who went should control the company's affairs. This was better than trying to manage the settlement from England, three thousand miles away, as had been done at first in the case of Jamestown. John Winthrop was chosen governor.

The First Emigration. — The emigration of Puritans began in the spring of 1630. Before the year was over about two thousand crossed to the Massachusetts shore. Many were "country gentlemen," well-to-do landowners, like Winthrop, who could pay their own expenses and subscribe something toward the expenses of the enterprise.

Beginnings of Boston. — The settlers scattered in small groups along the shore of Massachusetts Bay from Salem

southward. Winthrop chose for his home land where Boston now stands. On one side was an arm of the bay, on the other the Charles River. Excellent springs furnished pure water. Others settled near Winthrop on trails worn by deer or Indians along the wood-covered hills. Boston soon became the chief town of the Massachusetts Bay colony. Within a year the colonists had begun villages near Salem and Boston, among them Lynn, Charlestown, and Newtowne, afterwards called Cambridge. The region seemed beautiful to the newcomers. Winthrop wrote to his wife, who did not leave England with the first group, "We are here in a paradise. Though we have not beef and mutton, yet (God be praised) we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here is fowl and fish in great plenty."

COUNTRY ABOUT MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Troubles come. — The first houses were log huts, the roofs thatched with long grasses, and the chimneys made of sticks coated with mud. Unfortunately the colonists arrived too late to gain a harvest the first season. Their supplies ran low, and they were obliged to live on clams, mussels, and fish, which were plentiful in the bay. It looked as if they would have a starving time, like the Jamestown settlers, and Governor Winthrop appointed February 22, 1631, as a fast day. But the vessel they had sent to England for supplies arrived in time to turn the fast into a festival of thanksgiving.

The First Winter. — The settlers did not escape other hardships common to every new country. Before the first winter had even begun 200 died. The others did not falter. Only a few gave up the struggle and returned to England. Their places were soon filled, for King Charles's tyrannical acts drove hundreds to emigrate to Massachusetts. Within ten years the number reached fully 20,000. This is called the "Great Emigration."

The Puritans became "Congregationalists." — The Puritans who settled in Massachusetts were as sure they were right as those in authority in England were that the Church there was right. Not long after the Puritans landed they began to manage their religious affairs much like the Pilgrims. They did not, however, become Separatists in the sense that they thought the government should not meddle in religious matters. They only separated from the English Church. But they believed firmly that the settlers should unite in the same church in Massachusetts. Questions which in England would be decided by the bishops or other clergy were decided in New England by the meeting or congregation in each town. For this reason the people were called "Congregationalists." They expected every one who wished to remain in their towns to attend the services which their congregations ordered. A person who was absent any Sunday without excuse was fined.

PURITAN COSTUMES

Roger Williams. — In 1631 Roger Williams, a young London clergyman, who had been graduated at the University of Cambridge, England, came to Massachusetts Bay. He had an unusually active mind and often reached conclusions which startled other men in the settlements, especially the officers of the Massachusetts Bay Company. For example, he declared that the king had no right to grant lands in America, because these lands belonged to the Indians and

should be bought from them. In speaking about the subject he treated the names of both King Charles and King James with scant respect. This alarmed the officers of the company, who feared that the king might be offended and might take away their charter.

Williams an Exile from Massachusetts. — Williams was really a Separatist and tried for a time to live at Plymouth. Finally he became pastor of the church at Salem. There he taught that the government had no right to interfere in religion and that no one should be forced to attend church. In 1635 the officers of the Massachusetts Bay colony at Boston decided to send him back to England, but they first gave him ample time to settle his affairs at Salem. Before the day appointed for his departure, he fled through the woods, taking refuge among the Indians near the head of Narragansett Bay. He had often visited the Indians, could speak their language, and was looked upon by them as a friend.

ROGER WILLIAMS
After the statue at Providence

Beginnings of Rhode Island. — The Indians gave him a hearty welcome, took him into their wigwams, and shared their scanty supplies of food with him. In the spring a few followers from Salem joined him, and together they marked out the site for a new settlement beyond the territories of either Massachusetts Bay or Plymouth. They called it Providence, believing that a good Providence had guided them to so excellent a location. There they founded a colony based on a new policy — the right of the colonists to genuine religious liberty. Other exiles from Massachusetts founded three more

towns, including Newport, in Rhode Island on Narragansett Bay. In 1643 Williams went to England and obtained for these towns the right to rule themselves. This guarded against the danger that the Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay governments would attempt to rule them. Such were the beginnings of Rhode Island.

The First Emigrants from Massachusetts. — The year Williams was expelled from Massachusetts, a company of one hundred men, women, and children, under the leadership of Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtowne, left the colony for the Connecticut River valley. Why they went is uncertain. The other Massachusetts people were sorry to see them go. The main reason, probably, was the reports which they heard of the fertility of the lands in the valley of the Connecticut. They had no difficulty in selling their lands in Newtowne to newcomers from England.

Founding of Connecticut. — Hooker and his companions started on their journey early in June, 1636. Each carried his pack, arms, and the tools which he needed. They drove with them a herd of cattle. Their route lay through the unbroken wilderness, with only a compass to guide them. They camped in the open fields. Finally they reached the broad valley where Hartford now stands. Other groups founded Windsor and Wethersfield, and, farther up the Connecticut River, Springfield. Springfield remained a part of the Massachusetts Bay colony, while the towns farther south were united in a separate colony called Connecticut, from the river which flowed past them. Within two years 800 people had moved to the Connecticut Valley. A separate colony was founded at New Haven by a group, mainly from London, under the leadership of Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport.

New Hampshire. — While these larger settlements were being made, others were begun in New Hampshire at Dover, Portsmouth, and Exeter. The Massachusetts Bay Company ruled these for a time, but afterwards they were com-

bined by order of the English king into the province of New Hampshire.

The New Englanders govern themselves. — The New England colonists, like the Virginians, had already learned how to govern themselves. They brought with them many useful laws and customs. In the Massachusetts Bay settlements they also took rules from the Bible and treated them as laws. The people of New Haven went further, pledging one another to live according to the laws set forth in the Old Testament. At first they did not allow trial by jury because they found no mention of it in the Bible. If new laws were needed, these were talked about and decided upon in assemblies representing the citizens. There were also meetings of all the citizens of each town to consider its special business.

THE ORIGINAL TOWN HOUSE OF BOSTON, ABOUT 1658

Who were Voters in Massachusetts. — According to the charter of the company which founded the colony, the members or freemen of the company were to manage its affairs. By the end of the first year there were 2000 persons in the colony, but only 12 freemen or members. The other men did not like to be ruled by a few, and soon 109 asked to be admitted as freemen. Fearing that they would leave the settlements if their request was not granted, the leaders concluded to admit them, but decided at the same time that only church members could become freemen. Consequently in Massachusetts for many years it was necessary to be a church

member in order to vote. This was just as much a union of church and state as existed in England, except that the church differed from the one ordered by the English law, and the state was really a little republic and not a kingdom.

A General Assembly. — After a while there were so many freemen in Massachusetts that they could not attend a general meeting of the colony. Besides, some lived too far away. They therefore used the plan of representation which their English forefathers had invented long before, and which the Virginians began to use in 1619. Within a few years they also began to vote by ballot for the governor and for the representatives or deputies to the assembly or "General Court."

The New England Confederation. — Each of these colonies — Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven — managed its affairs separately. Fear of the Indians and of the Dutch settlers in the Hudson Valley, led in 1643 to a union for common defense. They called their league "The United Colonies of New England." Eight commissioners, two from each colony, were given charge of matters of common interest, such as war with Indian tribes. The Rhode Islanders wished to join the league, but the other colonies would not admit them. Brewster of Plymouth said, "Concerning the Rhode Islanders, we have no conversation with them further than necessity or humanity may require."

The league lasted forty years. The only serious Indian war which it managed took place in 1675 and 1676. King Philip was chief of one of the tribes, and so the struggle was called King Philip's War. The Indians fell upon a dozen frontier villages, burning the houses and killing the inhabitants. As soon as the soldiers of the league were assembled, the savages were defeated. The captives were sold as slaves. King Philip was killed, and his followers were scattered. A short time after the league came to an end Plymouth colony was united with Massachusetts Bay. New Haven had been joined with Connecticut in 1664.

Education in Massachusetts. — Several of the leading men in the Massachusetts Bay colony had been educated in the

English universities, especially at Cambridge. They expected their pastors to explain the Bible to the people, and thought that they could not discover the true meaning unless they could read it in the language in which it was written — the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek. Besides, like many others in England and Europe, these Massachusetts leaders wished educated men to read

New England in the Seventeenth Century

Latin, the language of the ancient Romans. Brewster of Plymouth had a library of about 400 books, 62 of which were in Latin. Bradford could read not only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, but also French and Dutch. It was not surprising therefore, that among the first things the colonists cared for were schools and a college. In 1647 they decided that every town with 50 families should support a teacher. If a town had 100 families, it should provide for what would now be called a high school. The Massachusetts assembly gave

1,000 acres of land to each of the chief towns for the support of these schools.

Harvard College founded. — Six years after John Winthrop and his companions landed on the shores of Massachusetts, the General Court voted to use part of the money which it collected from the settlers to found a college at Newtowne. John Harvard, one of the clergymen of the colony, dying two years later, left all his books and half his property to the college. The college was named for him, and the name of the town was changed to Cambridge in memory of the

THE OLDEST BUILDINGS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
After an early picture in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

older university town of England. Families in Massachusetts and Connecticut were asked to give a quarter of a bushel of corn every year for the college.

Education at New Haven. — The founders of New Haven also planned for a college, but at first they could spare no money. They had brought a teacher with them, so that a school was begun at once. Finally one of their number, Edward Hopkins, who had returned to England, bequeathed some money to the colony for the college. The best they could do even then was to open what was called the Hopkins Grammar School, in which Latin and Greek as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught.

Parliament and King Charles. — The "Great Emigration" to Massachusetts came to an end in 1641. For nearly twenty years after that time the Puritans had the upper hand in England and felt little desire to emigrate to America. They gained the advantage in this way. King Charles attempted to force the Scotch to worship in the manner ordered in England. The Scotch rose in rebellion, and Charles was obliged to call parliament together to obtain money to pay his soldiers. The members, instead of voting the money, complained of their grievances. He dismissed this "Short" Parliament, but soon called another which refused to be treated in the same way. It was nicknamed the "Long" Parliament, because it lasted almost twenty years.

Sir Harry Vane

One of the Puritan emigrants to New England, early Governor of Massachusetts, who later returned to England to aid the Puritans there in the Civil War. From MacMonnies' statue of him in the Boston Public Library

Civil War in England. — In 1642 Charles and parliament quarrelled so violently that both raised armies and began a civil war. The members of the king's party were called Cavaliers, because many of them were nobles or "country gentlemen." The Puritans were nicknamed "Roundheads," because some of them cropped their hair close. The king was defeated and captured, and the government fell into the hands of the victorious Puritan army under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell. When the king stirred up civil war again, he was tried, condemned, and executed.

The Commonwealth. — Oliver Cromwell now became real ruler of England. The government was called a Commonwealth and lasted until two years after Cromwell's death in 1658, when Charles II, son of the dead king, was called from exile to the throne.

Questions

1. Who had formed the Massachusetts Bay Company? What was the company planning to do? Why did the Puritans wish to leave England?

2. What arrangement did the members of the Massachusetts Bay Company make for those who went to America?

3. Who was the first governor of the Massachusetts settlement? Where did the Puritans make the first settlements?

4. Why did the settlers escape starving times like those in Virginia? Did they escape the other hardships of a new country?

5. How did the Puritans in Massachusetts come to think religious affairs should be managed? What name did they receive? Why this name? How did they differ from the Pilgrims in their ideas of church government?

6. What did Roger Williams teach? Why did these teachings alarm the Puritans in Massachusetts? Where did he and other exiles start a colony? What rights did they secure from England?

7. Where did Thomas Hooker and his congregation first settle? Why did they leave Massachusetts? Where did they form a new colony? What other settlements were made near the Connecticut towns?

8. Where did the New England colonists get their laws and customs? Why did the people of New Haven oppose trial by jury? How were new laws made?

9. Why did the Massachusetts Bay Company permit men who were not freemen or members to vote? Whom did they allow to become voters?

10. Why was a New England Confederation formed? What colonies composed it? What became of Plymouth and New Haven colonies? What useful work for New England did the Confederation accomplish?

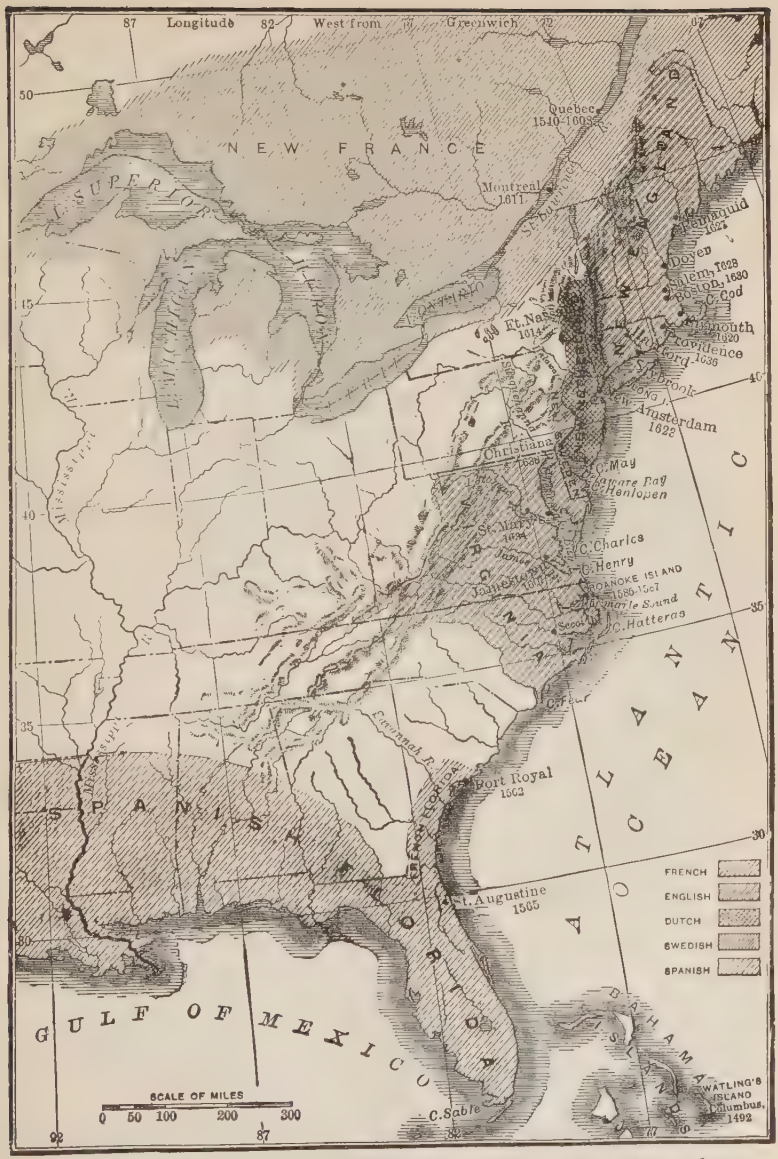
11. Why were the Puritans of New England especially interested in education? What rule about schools did Massachusetts lay down for towns? Tell the story of the founding of Harvard College and the Hopkins Grammar School.

12. Why did the Puritan or "Great Emigration" come to an end about 1641?

Exercises

1. Find out what the constitution of your state and of the United States says about religion. Did any of the Puritan leaders hold the views which governments today maintain on this subject?

2. Find on the map, page 51, the location of the early settlements in New England, and tell why each was made and from where the settlers came.



PARTS OF NORTH AMERICA OCCUPIED OR EXPLORED ABOUT 1650

CHAPTER VI

MARYLAND, A REFUGE FOR ENGLISH CATHOLICS

Roman Catholics in England. — The English Roman Catholics were treated even more harshly than either the Separatists or the Puritans. Not only were they forced to pay heavy fines, but any priest who celebrated mass was threatened with death. Nevertheless, influential Catholics were befriended by both James I and Charles I. Charles married a Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, daughter of the famous Henry of Navarre, the first Bourbon king of France.

Lord Baltimore. — One of the influential Catholics whom King Charles chose to favor was Sir George Calvert, usually known by his title of Lord Baltimore. To him the king in 1632 gave 12,000 square miles of land on both sides of Chesapeake Bay. Baltimore was to pay the king one-fifth of the gold and silver which he mined, and was to send him every year two Indian arrows in proof of loyalty. The region was named " Mary Land " in honor of the queen.

Maryland. — Lord Baltimore expected to make Maryland a great family estate, but he also wished to use it as a refuge for persecuted Catholics. Although he died before carrying out his plan, his son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, put it into effect. He equipped an expedition at an expense of £40,000, equal to a million dollars now, placing it under the leadership of his younger brother Leonard. The first party of emigrants was made up of about 20 country gentlemen, most of them Catholics, and about 200 artisans and laborers, chiefly Protestants. Two Jesuit priests joined the expedition as it passed the Isle of Wight.

The First Settlement. — The ships were three months on the voyage, as they followed the older route through the

West Indies. They reached Maryland in the early spring of 1634. Calvert chose as a site for his first settlement a long bluff near the mouth of the Potomac River. The Indians who occupied it were glad to share even their huts and their half-planted corn fields with the well-armed white men who might defend them from the fierce Susquehannocks living farther north. They received in payment axes, hoes, knives, and some cloth. After the harvest they agreed to give the settlers all the village and the land about it. One of the priests, Father White, took possession of an Indian cabin, and "having dressed it a little better," used it as a chapel.

A few of the Indian families remained during the first year, the men teaching the settlers to hunt deer, partridges, and turkeys. The Indian squaws taught the white women how to prepare hominy and johnny-cake before an open fire.

Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore

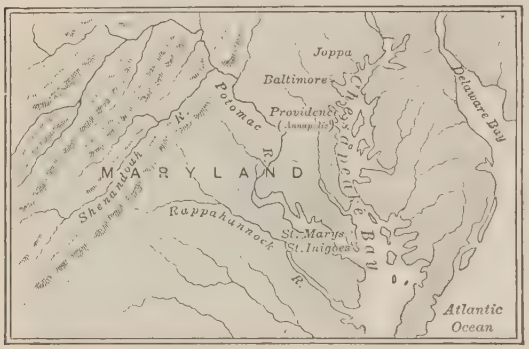
After a painting in the State House, Annapolis

A Fortunate Colony. — The first settlement in Maryland was named St. Mary's for the Virgin Mary. A stockade was built around the little fort which protected the town from attack. St. Mary's was more fortunate in its beginnings than either Jamestown or Plymouth. The climate was mild and healthful, and the first harvest was good. The Indian neighbors were gentle and friendly. The colonists at the end of the first season sent corn to New England in exchange for salt fish and other things which they needed. They also began to trade with the Virginians, obtaining cattle, sheep, hogs, and hens, with which to stock their farms.

Maryland and Virginia. — Their dealings with the Virginians were not all friendly. The lands which King Charles

had given Lord Baltimore were originally a part of Virginia, and the Virginians objected to the loss. Indeed some Virginians under the leadership of William Claiborne had already settled on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay and were carrying on a profitable trade with the Indians. They soon quarrelled with the settlers at St. Mary's, and a petty warfare was kept up for years, until the king decided in favor of Lord Baltimore.

A "Proprietary" Colony. — Lord Baltimore was the "Proprietor" or owner of Maryland. The country, therefore, formed a huge private estate, with the colonists as tenants. The proprietor exercised the rights of government over the colonists, much as if he were king. For this reason such a colony was called "Proprietary," just as Virginia was a "Royal" colony, and Massachusetts Bay a "Charter" colony. In Maryland the proprietor appointed the governor. He gave the settlers lands on easy terms, collecting one shilling rent for each fifty acres. Plantations of a thousand acres or more were called manors. A colonist who held a manor enjoyed certain powers exercised by nobles in England, acting as judge in case of disputes between his tenants, and punishing their offenses.



EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN MARYLAND

A Representative Assembly. — Lord Baltimore had promised to ask the opinions of his colonists in making laws, and by his orders an assembly met in 1635. The laws which were framed were sent to England for his approval. With the governor's consent they could be carried out without waiting

for the answer, although the proprietor always kept the right to veto or forbid laws. The earlier assemblies included all the freemen of the colony, while the later ones, as the settlements increased in number, were made up of representatives, like the assemblies of Virginia and Massachusetts.

Religious Toleration. — Lord Baltimore sent Protestants as well as Catholics to Maryland. It was his wish that both should dwell together in peace. He gave strict orders to his

DOUGHOREGAN MANOR

A fine example of a prosperous Maryland planter's residence

governors and to the priests not to offend the Protestants. For a long time, however, the officers, as well as the clergy, were all Catholics.

In 1649 Lord Baltimore's policy of religious toleration was embodied in a law, by vote of the assembly and assent of the proprietor. This was the well-known Toleration Act, which declared "that no person or persons whatsoever within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled . . . or molested . . . in respect to his or her religion." Lord Baltimore did not separate the church from the state, as did Roger Williams in Rhode Island, for in Maryland the government supported either Catholic or Protestant worship, sometimes both.

How the Colony first looked. — Many Puritans who had settled in Virginia, but who were not well treated, moved into Maryland after the Toleration Act. Some of them founded Annapolis, a town which later became the capital

of the colony. Most of the people were scattered along the coasts or inland upon manors, plantations, and farms. St. Mary's was little more than a few farm houses straggling for five miles along the banks of the St. Mary's River. Chesapeake Bay, with its many coves, inlets, and rivers, served in place of roads. Ships, as in Virginia, came to the wharves of the farmers and exchanged English wares for tobacco and

BALTIMORE IN 1752

After an engraving in Scharf's *History of Baltimore*

corn. Nearly a century passed before a town was founded at the head of the bay and named Baltimore in honor of the proprietor.

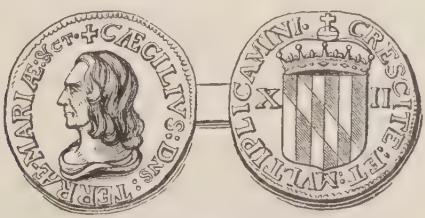
Questions

1. How were Roman Catholics treated in England?
2. What territory in America did Lord Baltimore obtain? What did he wish to do with this? What kind of emigrants did he obtain?
3. How long did it take to make the voyage? Why did it take so long?
4. Where did Lord Baltimore's colonists settle? What bargain did they make with the Indians? In what ways did the Indians help them? Why was St. Mary's a fortunate colony?
5. What relation existed between the Proprietor of Maryland and the colonists? What privileges did the colonists enjoy?
6. What rights over his tenants did the holder of a manor have? What class in Europe did he somewhat resemble?

7. How did Lord Baltimore manage to keep religious peace in his colony? How did his method differ from the one Roger Williams put into practice in Rhode Island?

Review

1. The voyages of the three great discoverers — Diaz, Columbus, and Magellan.
2. The conquest of Mexico by Cortés and of Peru by Pizarro.
3. The exploration of North America by De Soto and Coronado. The discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto and of the St. Lawrence by Cartier.
4. The Spanish settlements in the New World, especially St. Augustine in Florida.
5. The first settlements of each of the rivals in North America.
6. The barriers keeping English and Dutch explorers from the interior of North America.
7. The French explorers of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley — Champlain, Marquette, and La Salle.
8. The settlement at Jamestown. The first work of a trading company and its laborers.
9. Virginia's growth into a prosperous colony. Finding new laborers.
10. English laws and customs carried to Virginia.
11. The Separatists become exiles. Their settlement at Plymouth.
12. The treatment of the Puritans in England.
13. The plan of the Massachusetts Bay Company in America.
14. The first Great Emigration, 1630–1641.
15. Exiles from Massachusetts found Rhode Island.
16. Emigrants from Massachusetts found Connecticut.
17. The governments of New England — town, colony, and confederation.
18. The provisions made for education in the colonies.
19. Lord Baltimore's colony of Maryland.
20. How Lord Baltimore managed the religion of his colony.



A Maryland Shilling

CHAPTER VII

DUTCH AND ENGLISH RIVALRIES: BEGINNINGS OF A GREAT STATE

Henry Hudson. — The Dutch were not far behind the English in trying to found colonies in America. It was an Englishman, Henry Hudson, then in the service of the Dutch East India Company, who led the way. At the time he reached the American coast he was in search of a passage to

THE "HALF MOON" IN THE HUDSON RIVER
After the painting by T. Moran

China. This was in 1609. He sailed as far south as Chesapeake Bay, and then turned northward. Soon he entered the strait now called the Narrows, which separates New York Harbor from the sea. He saw the broad and beautiful river which stretches northward among the hills and which bears his name. As the water was salt and the tides were strong, he thought this might be the passage for which he

was looking. It is not strange that he was deceived. The Hudson for one hundred and fifty miles inland is not a true river, but a fiord or deep channel into the highlands, with a rock bottom below sea level. The *Half Moon*, Hudson's ship, aided by wind and tide, sailed or drifted until it was stopped by the shallows near the site of the present city of Albany. Hudson had not discovered a passage to China, but instead one of the most useful rivers in the world.

THE SMITH'S VALLEY

A Dutch blacksmith shop and a farm scene, Manhattan Island, where a brookside path with the name of Maiden Lane followed a valley to the East River

Founding New Amsterdam. — Hudson carried word to his employers that the Indians were ready to exchange valuable furs for knives, hatchets, beads, and similar cheap articles. Although the East India Company took no great interest in the matter, merchants sent vessels over to the Hudson to trade with the Indians. In 1621 a Dutch West India Company was formed, mainly to plunder the Spaniards on the sea or in the West Indies, for the Dutch were again at war with Spain.[1] This company received the sole right to the lands about the Hudson. Its agents built a trading post at the lower end of Manhattan Island, which soon became

[1] See *Introductory American History*, Chapter XVIII.

known as New Amsterdam, being named for the largest city in Holland. They established another post on the site of Albany, and called it Fort Orange. The whole colony was called New Netherland. Peter Minuit, who was sent over as governor of the colony, bought Manhattan Island from the Indians for about $24 worth of cloth, hatchets, kettles, knives, and other things. This seems a small price for the land on which New York City stands, but the Indians were well pleased with the bargain.

Dutch Patroon or Landed Proprietor

New Amsterdam, like Jamestown at first, was the station or colony of a trading company rather than a real settlement. A few families arrived in 1623, and others followed year by year. Most of their members were employed by the company or rented farms, or "boweries," from it. Even the clergyman who "comforted the sick" and preached on Sunday was paid by the company.

Patroons. — Certain members of the West India Company were anxious that the settlement of their lands should go forward faster. It was accordingly agreed in 1629 that any member who should found a settlement of fifty adults within four years might have a tract extending sixteen miles along the Hudson River, or eight miles, if it lay on both sides. No limits were set showing how far back these tracts should run. If the founder of the settlements, who was called a patroon or lord, should send out more colonists, he could have more land. The colonists were farm laborers or renters on the patroon's land. They could not hunt or fish without his consent. They must grind their grain at his mill and buy their cloth at the company's storehouse, for they were not allowed to weave. They were forbidden to trade with the Indians, though most of the early

colonists soon obtained the permission of the patroon, and turned fur traders.

Such a plan was not likely to succeed, especially when colonists might obtain land on better terms from the English. The most successful patroonship, or manor, was founded by Van Rensselaer, and included a region equal to two modern counties around Fort Orange. The settlement soon consisted of twenty-five or thirty houses scattered along the Hudson. It was called Rensselaerwyck.

The Dutch and the Indians. — The Dutch settlers, like the company which sent them from Europe, were interested

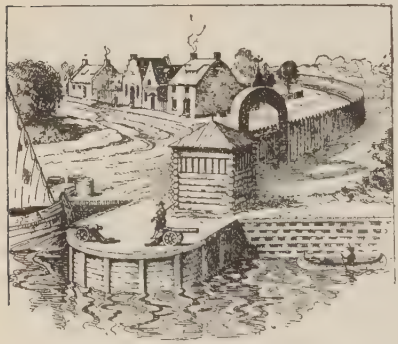
An Old Dutch Manor House

At Rensselaer, N. Y. The song of Yankee Doodle is thought to have originated here

chiefly in trade, and especially the fur trade. If all had been content with that, their relations with the Indians would have remained friendly, because they would not have desired to occupy any of the Indian hunting grounds. But as soon as the good farm lands on Manhattan Island were taken, and the settlers sought more land east and west of the Hudson, the Indians were alarmed and angry. Both settlers and savages were guilty of murders. The Indians were made more reckless by the liquor, or "firewater," which they bought of the traders. The consequence was that for years war raged between the settlers and the Indians, and that the Dutch held little but Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan

Island. A wall of earth, four or five feet high, thrown up inside a closely-set row of pointed stakes twice as high, was built across the island north of the fields near the fort. This palisade formed some protection against an attack from the Indians, and later gave its name to Wall Street.

New Settlements. — In 1646 peace was made with the Indians and the settlements began to spread once more. Weehawken and Hoboken were two of those on the west shore of the Hudson. Among the villages across the East River on Long Island was Breuckelen, or Brooklyn. The Dutch were not the only ones to emigrate to the company's territories. So many English and French came that the decisions of the company's officers were published in those languages as well as in Dutch.

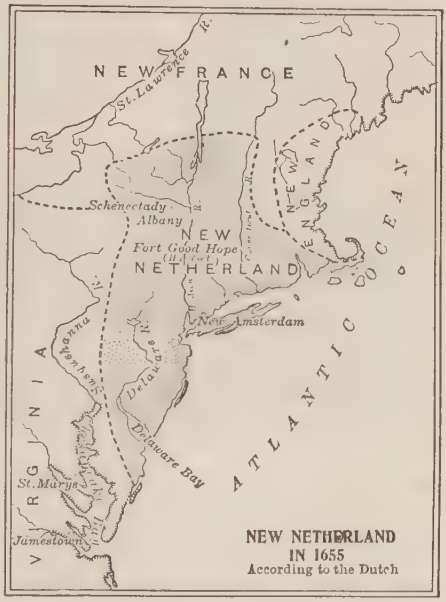


Wall Street Palisade from the East River

Trading Stations. — As the Dutch were interested chiefly in the fur trade, and as rivers offered the only routes for transporting furs, the Dutch tried to take possession of important points along the rivers. They had Fort Orange at the head of the deeper waters of the Hudson, and, somewhat later, pushed up the Mohawk River to the rapids, where Schenectady stands, and built another post. They also built a fort at the junction of the Schuylkill and the Delaware near the site of Philadelphia. They had built Fort Good Hope on the site of Hartford before Thomas Hooker and his followers arrived.

The English closing in. — The presence of the Dutch on the Connecticut injured the fur trade of the Plymouth colony, because the fur-bearing animals of the region near the coast were soon captured and it was necessary to go deeper into the woods for others. Even before the Newtowne con-

gregation founded Hartford, the son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay seized the mouth of the Connecticut and thus prevented the Dutch from using it as a trade route. Still worse for the Dutch was the settlement of Springfield, which had been the meeting place of their traders and the Indians for ten years. Meanwhile English settlements were approaching New Amsterdam along Long Island Sound, and were within twenty-five miles of it by 1639. The English were also threatening the Dutch from the south. By 1631 Claiborne was pushing up the Susquehanna from Kent Island, in order to reach the sources of the supply of furs west of where the Dutch went to obtain them.



English seize New Amsterdam. — Not many years passed before the English and the Dutch at home began to fight over trade. Never had the English Channel seen such battles. The hero of the Dutch was Van Tromp, who after a victory over the British Admiral Blake sailed down the Channel with a broom at his masthead, meaning that he had swept the English from the seas. On the whole the English had the best of the fighting. In 1664, during the second of the wars, four ships, with many soldiers on board, appeared before New Amsterdam. The English demanded the surrender of the place, but the governor, Peter Stuyvesant, tore up the letter containing the demand and attempted to de-

fend the fort. His councillors, thinking that it was hopeless to fight, made him piece together the fragments. When they saw the terms which the English offered, they compelled him to agree to them.

Beginnings of New York. — Colonel Nicolls, the English commander, changed the name of New Amsterdam to New York, and the name of Fort Orange to Albany, in honor of James, who was both Duke of York and Duke of Albany. Stuyvesant continued to live on his farm, called the Great Bowery, until his death. The old church in the fort was

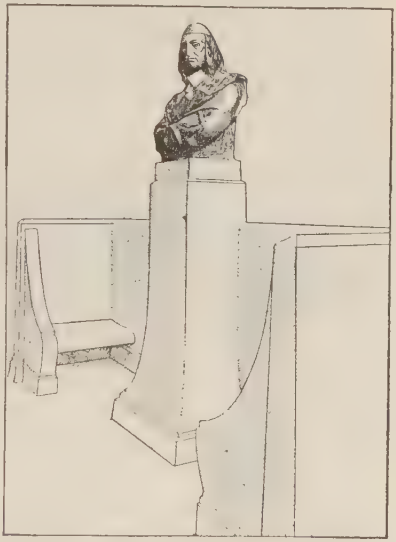
NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1655
After Van der Donck's *New Netherland*

used by the Dutch Sunday mornings, by the French Protestants at mid-day, and by the English in the afternoon. The English mode of government was introduced within a few years, including trial by jury and representative assemblies. The original Dutch inhabitants soon began to learn the English language, and became much like their English neighbors.

New Jersey. — Before Colonel Nicolls had reached New Amsterdam the Duke of York had given to two friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, all the land from the Hudson to the Delaware. It was named New Jersey because Sir George Carteret had bravely defended the island of Jersey against the Puritans during the English civil war. The proprietors were eager to attract settlers to their territory,

and promised that each should worship as he wished. They offered 200 acres in every community for the support of the minister whom the settlers should choose.

The Dutch at New York again. — The seizure of New Amsterdam hastened on war between England and the Netherlands. The Dutch made no attempt to recover New York. Several years later, in another war with the English, they did recapture New York and held it for 15 months. They were obliged to restore it when peace was made. This was the last war between the Dutch and the English, who had already begun to see that the French and not the Dutch were their most dangerous rivals.



BUST OF PETER STUYVESANT
Set up at St. Mark's Church, New York, in 1915

The English hold the Atlantic Shore. — The capture of New Netherland gave the English control of the whole Atlantic coast from the St. Croix River to the St. Mary's on the boundary of Spanish Florida. The settlement of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, which was begun soon after New Amsterdam was taken, strengthened their hold on all this territory, for unoccupied land was always in danger of being seized by some rival nation.

Questions

1. What rivals had the English in colonizing what is now the United States? What part of the Atlantic coast did Henry Hudson explore? What passage did he think he had discovered?

2. For what purpose was the Dutch West India Company formed? Why did it want the lands about the Hudson? What settlements did the company make? In what ways was the Dutch colony at New Amsterdam like Jamestown?

3. How did the West India Company attempt to settle its land faster? How well did the plan succeed?

4. Why did the Dutch have trouble with the Indians?

5. What settlements did the Dutch make near New Amsterdam? What outlying trading posts did the Dutch found?

THE STADT HUYS, OR CITY HALL, NEW YORK, 1678

6. At what points were the English settlers and traders closing in on the Dutch in New Netherland?

7. What changes did the English make after the conquest of the Dutch colony?

8. Who obtained the Duke of York's lands between the Hudson and the Delaware? What special privileges did the proprietors of New Jersey allow their settlers?

9. How much of the Atlantic coast did England hold after the conquest of New Netherland?

Exercise

Locate on a map (see map, page 75) the English settlements which were nearest New Amsterdam on the east and on the west, including Claiborne's trade route on the Susquehanna.

Important Date:

1664. The English conquest of the Dutch colony of New Netherland.

CHAPTER VIII

A SECOND GREAT EMIGRATION

Virginia and the Commonwealth. — While civil war was raging in England few men thought of founding colonies in America. After the king's party was overthrown, many cavaliers emigrated to Virginia. In 1649, 330 refugees arrived on one ship. Supported by them, Sir William Berkeley, the governor, and the General Assembly condemned the execution of Charles I and declared their loyalty to his son Charles II as king. The victorious Puritans and their parliament sent out an expedition to bring the defiant colony to terms. When it reached Virginia in 1652, Berkeley put the militia, 1200 strong, under arms and prepared to resist. The leaders of the expedition, partly by a show of force, partly by willingness to grant generous terms, persuaded the Virginians to promise obedience to the Commonwealth.

Emigration of Royalists to Virginia. — The emigration of the royalist party to Virginia, however, continued. A writer living at the time spoke of "civil, honorable, and men of great estates" flocking in. One of them was John Washington, great-grandfather of George Washington. Within twenty years the population increased from 15,000 to 40,000. After 1660, when Charles II was restored to his father's throne, fewer of the royalist party came over.

The West Indies.[1] — Another region to which many emigrants went from England at about this time was the West Indies. The Spaniards did not make as much use of these islands as they did of Mexico and Peru, but they wished to keep out the sailors of other nations. Adventurers from

[1] It should be remembered that since the occupation of Porto Rico and the building of the Panama Canal the history of the West India Islands has become of great interest to the people of the United States.

everywhere sailed the West Indian seas. They attacked Spanish treasure ships, loaded with gold and silver from the mines, and even cities like Vera Cruz and Panama. To obtain food they hunted wild cattle, smoking the meat over wood fires called *boucanes*. This gave them the name "buccaneers." They were also called "freebooters" or "filibusters," from their swift ships, *vliebooten* or "flying boats." Some of them settled on unoccupied islands, the French at Martinique, Guadeloupe, and western Haiti,[1] the

Dutch at Curaçao, and the English at Barbados. About 1640 these settlers began to raise cane sugar. The Dutch, however, were mainly interested in smuggling. Their settlement at Curaçao was the great market at which to obtain the products of Europe and the East Indies. Even Spanish colonists traded there, because the merchants of Spain asked higher prices than the Dutch.

[1] Columbus called this island Española, or "Little Spain." One of the chief towns was named Santo Domingo, and in time the English, French, and even the Spanish gave that name to the entire island. Early in the nineteenth century some leading writers on geography suggested the use of the original Indian name, Haiti, which meant "mountainous country," and this is now the usual one for the island.

Dissenters. — Religious troubles again became the principal reason for emigration to America as soon as Charles II was made king. He was surrounded by his father's friends and supporters, who insisted that the rules of the church made under Queen Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, should be enforced. Rather than submit, 2000 clergymen gave up their parishes. As they dissented from the methods of worship ordered by law, they were from that time commonly called "Dissenters." The most numerous were the Presbyterians, the Independents or Congregationalists, and the Baptists. If they attempted to meet for worship, they were thrown into prison.

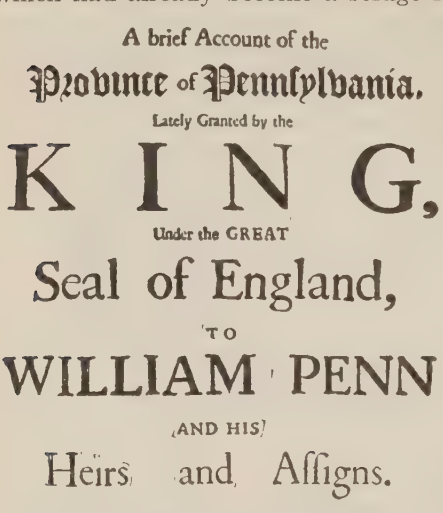
WILLIAM PENN
After the painting by Benjamin West

The Society of Friends. — Another group of Dissenters was the Society of Friends, or the Quakers. The founder of the Quakers was George Fox. He thought that all God's children should be treated as brethren. He spoke with no greater respect to the magistrate than to ordinary men, refusing to give any man a title, and addressing each with "thee" and "thou." He and his followers would not take off their hats even in a court room. They believed so firmly in the brotherhood of man that they would neither bear arms themselves nor pay for the support of soldiers. As they would not obey laws of which their consciences disapproved, they were often arrested and thrown into prison. About 3000 were arrested in the first two years of the reign of Charles II.

William Penn. — The most prominent Quaker in England at this time was William Penn, son of Admiral Penn, who was a favorite with King Charles II. The old admiral was at first enraged when his son became a Quaker, but finally forgave him. On the death of the admiral in 1670, William

inherited the family estate, which gave him an income equal to $25,000 or $30,000 at the present day.

Six years later Penn purchased a share in New Jersey, which had already become a refuge for distressed Quakers. They settled mostly in the western part of the colony along the Delaware. By 1682 Penn and other wealthy Quakers owned all the shares of the original proprietors. Many Puritans had also come in from Connecticut and had selected farms in northern New Jersey.



A brief Account of the

Province of Pennsylvania.

Lately Granted by the

KING,

Under the GREAT

Seal of England,

TO

WILLIAM PENN

(AND HIS)

Heirs and Assigns.

Since (by the good Providence of *God*, and the Favour of the *King*) a Country in *America* is fallen to my Lot, I thought it not less my Duty, then my Honest Interest, to give some publick notice of it to the World, that those of our own or other Nations, that are inclin'd to Transport Themselves or Families beyond the Seas, may find another Country added to their Choice; that if they shall happen to like the Place, Conditions, and Government, (so far as the present Infancy of things will allow us any prospect) they may, if they please, fix with me in the Province, hereafter described.

I. *The* KING'S *Title to this Country before he granted it.*

It is the *Jus Gentium*, or Law of Nations, that what ever Waste, or uncultiv ced Country, is the Discovery of any Prince, it is the right of that Prince that was at the Charge of the Discovery: Now this *Province* is a Member of that part of *America*, which the King of *Englands* Ancestors have been at the Charge of Discovering, and which they and he have taken great care to preserve and Improve.

11. William

First Page of Penn's "Account of Pennsylvania"

Reduced facsimile

The "Holy Experiment." — Meanwhile Penn had become interested in another plan of colony building, which he called his "Holy Experiment." As King Charles owed him money borrowed from his father, Penn asked for a grant of land west of the Delaware and north of Maryland. He proposed to call the country New Wales or Sylvania. The king granted the land, and insisted on the latter name, and, in honor of Admiral Penn, placed "Penn" before it, making "Pennsylvania," or "Penn's wood."

Delaware. — The year after Penn had obtained Pennsylvania from the king, he induced the king's brother, the Duke

of York, to give him the land which now makes up the state of Delaware. Penn thus in 1681 and 1682 possessed all the lands along the west side of the Delaware River from its mouth almost to its source.

Penn seeks for Emigrants. — Penn expected to find many settlers among the persecuted Quakers, but he wished also to obtain other industrious persons. In order to attract them to his colony he prepared an *Account of the Province of Pennsylvania*, which he sent to many places in the British Isles. He had it translated into French, German, and Dutch, so that Europeans might read about the enterprise, and, perhaps, come to America and join the colony.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

A Proprietary Colony. — Penn was proprietor of his colony, as Lord Baltimore was of Maryland. Even before he had any settlers he wrote out a constitution, from the words of which it was clear that he was interested in something more than the profits of the enterprise. Through councils and assemblies he planned to share the management of the colony with the settlers. In the laws which he drew up he showed that he was far ahead of most men of his day. For example, prisoners were not to be tormented and starved as they were in English prisons at that time, but were to be fed and clothed. Penn be-

lieved that the aim should be to reform rather than simply to punish them.

The Founding of Philadelphia, 1682. — Penn sent his cousin, William Markham, to Pennsylvania in 1681 with a party of colonists. He followed, the next year, with about a hundred others, mostly Quakers from his own neighborhood in England. Others of the early settlers came from Wales and Ireland. The first party of colonists selected a site for a town about one hundred and twenty miles up the Delaware River. Broad streets and squares were laid out in a grove of pine trees on a low bluff along the river front. Penn called his town Philadelphia, a Greek word meaning "brotherly love."

Growth of the Colony. — Penn's colony grew rapidly. As the lands about Philadelphia were soon taken, later comers scattered along the Delaware River within the limits of Delaware and eastern Pennsylvania. One of the earlier settlers wrote an account of his experiences. "I settled," he wrote, "upon my tract of land, which I purchased of the Proprietor . . . and set up a house and a corn mill which was very useful to the country for several miles round. But there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles; I remember one man who had a bull so gentle that he used to bring his corn on him instead of a horse." Many of the settlers in the first years had neither horses nor plows. As the colonists were industrious and thrifty there was no starving time in Pennsylvania.

Germantown. — Among the earlier bands of settlers were twelve or thirteen German families, mostly weavers, under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius. They reached Philadelphia in 1683 and were welcomed by Penn. They bought a tract of land a few miles north of the town, and began the settlement known as Germantown.

Penn's Treaties with the Indians. — Penn was much interested in the Indians, and often traveled among them. In June, 1683, he met a large number of chiefs and their warriors

under a great elm tree near Philadelphia and made a treaty with them. The spot where this Treaty Elm stood is now marked by a monument, and is within the present limits of the city. Penn described the treaty in a letter to his friends in England, — "great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light."

Penn purchased the land from the Indians, although the king had given it to him. He bought from a chief one tract

The First Town Hall and Court House, Philadelphia

of land as far back from the Delaware as a man could ride on horseback in two days. The chief was to receive "so much wampum, so many guns, shoes, stockings, looking-glasses, blankets, and other goods as William Penn shall please to give us."

Penn's Return to England. — Penn was obliged to return to England in 1684, and, except for a brief visit many years later, saw nothing more of his colonies. Most matters of government were left to the colonists themselves or to a commission, and later to a deputy governor who represented

him as proprietor. Penn tried to manage matters by correspondence, but he was too far away.

The Carolinas. — During this period of rapid emigration from England to Pennsylvania many Dissenters also went to the Carolinas. The settlements in northern and southern Carolina were not planned at first, like Pennsylvania, as a refuge for the oppressed. They were more like the original settlement of Virginia. Indeed, the first settlers came from Virginia, following the Indian trails along the coast. They cleared land on the Chowan River near Albemarle Sound. They were already there when Charles II gave to eight noblemen all the territory from the southern boundary of Virginia to Spanish Florida. The region had long been known as Carolina, a name given it in honor of the king's father, Charles I.

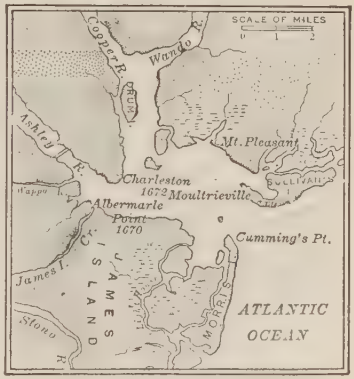
THE CAROLINA COAST

Charleston. — The proprietors of Carolina were not content with the small colony of Virginians on the Chowan River, and in 1670 they sent to southern Carolina a larger body of settlers, partly from England and partly from Barbados. The colonists began their settlement on an excellent harbor at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers. They named it for the king, Charles Town or Charleston. Some years later their settlement was moved to the site of the present city.

The colonists at Charleston remembered the fate of the French colony at Fort Caroline a hundred years before, and feared a similar attack from the Spaniards. Their fears were not groundless, for within a few weeks a Spanish vessel,

sent to break up the settlement, appeared off the harbor. The Spaniards on board, finding the settlers on their guard, returned to St. Augustine without striking a blow. Some years later they destroyed a small Scotch settlement nearer the borders of Florida.

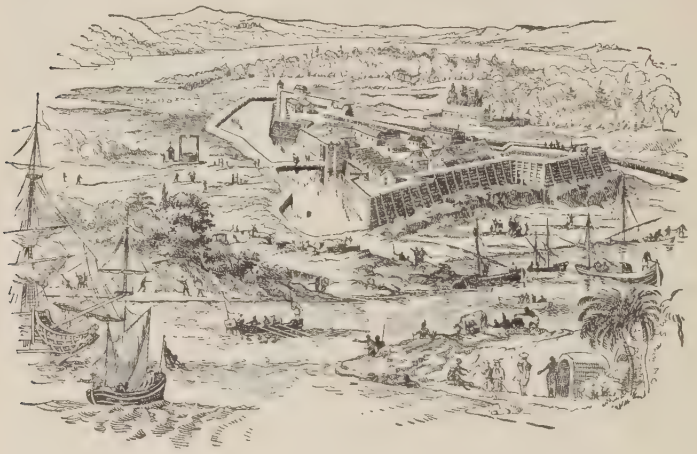
Huguenots in South Carolina. — Charleston and the country around became a refuge for many Huguenots, or French Protestants, who had fled because Louis XIV would no longer allow them to worship as they believed right. The proprietors were glad to obtain such valuable settlers, and offered them full religious liberty. Merchants, goldsmiths, shipwrights, weavers, and men of other trades found employment in Charleston. At least seventy families took up lands along the rivers back of the early settlements. Part of southern Carolina seemed for a while almost a French colony, as there were so many settlers who could not speak English.



CHARLESTON HARBOR

The Carolinas divided. — The proprietors did not consider the settlements on the Albemarle and at Charleston as two distinct colonies, but as parts of one. They were, however, too far apart to have any dealings with each other. It was nearly three hundred miles from one to the other, and by land only Indian trails connected them. Stormy Cape Hatteras projected into the ocean far enough to make the journey in small sailing vessels very dangerous. Each colony liked to manage its own affairs without much interference from the proprietors. Years later, by 1729, the proprietors surrendered their rights in the colony to the king. It was then divided into North Carolina and South Carolina.

Size of the Second "Great Emigration."—By 1700, 5000 colonists lived in southern Carolina, and 3000 in northern Carolina. About 20,000 people had gone from Europe to Pennsylvania and Delaware; the majority of these were Quakers. About 14,000 had settled in New Jersey — the Quakers in the west, Puritans from New England in the north, and English and Scotch in the east, besides some



CHARLESTON IN 1673
From an old print

Dutch on the banks of the Hudson. Meanwhile the population of New York had increased to 25,000, the city on Manhattan Island numbering 5000. Most of the early emigration to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Carolinas took place in the years from 1680 to 1690, and was due to religious troubles in England and Europe. This is the second great emigration in American history.

Oglethorpe's Plan to aid Poor Debtors. — The Carolina frontier was exposed to attacks from the Spaniards in Florida and their Indian allies. It was no wonder that the inhabitants of South Carolina were glad when they heard that a new colony was to be established between their settlements and Florida. In 1732 James Oglethorpe and his friends in

England obtained the right to found a colony south of the Savannah River. They gave the name Georgia to the territory in honor of George II, who was then king of England. Oglethorpe was interested in any plan to help the poor. In those days the English law allowed a creditor to send to jail any one who owed him and could not pay the debt. The jails were horrible places, filthy, and overrun with vermin, where prisoners held for all sorts of crimes were herded together. The jailer was often cruel and cheated his prisoners, if he did not torture them. There was little chance

SETTLEMENTS IN GEORGIA

This map shows the size of the original grant of Georgia in 1732

that a poor debtor once sent to such a place would live to get out. Oglethorpe thought it better to send such persons to America where they might start anew. He chose as the motto of the colony, "Not for self, but for others." He expected no gain for himself; indeed, he used his own money to further the enterprise.

Founding of Georgia. — Oglethorpe went to Georgia in 1733. He was accompanied by 35 poor families, selected out of a large number willing to go. They went up the Savannah River about ten miles and began a town which they called Savannah, using the Indian name of the river. Like William Penn and Roger Williams, Oglethorpe first made peace with the Indians, buying the land from them. Savannah was laid out with broad streets and large parks.

Fifty acres of land were given to each family. Oglethorpe received aid from the English government and from wealthy friends in buying arms, farm tools, seed, and supplies. The people of South Carolina sent 100 head of cattle, a drove of hogs, a flock of sheep, and 20 barrels of rice. Several went to Savannah with their servants to aid the new colony in building houses. Everything seemed hopeful.

The Troubles of Georgia. — Poor men who could not make a living in England were not well fitted for the hardships of a new country. Others came, but progress was slow. The colonists complained because they were not allowed at first to hold slaves, like the South Carolinians. They were hampered also by the size of the farms, which were too small to be treated as plantations. In 1743 Oglethorpe returned to England discouraged. Nine years later he and his friends gave up their rights in the colony, which then came directly under control of the king. A small trading station at Augusta, far inland on the Savannah River, gave the Georgians a share in the fur trade with the Indians.

New Emigrants and New Frontiers. — Once early emigrants had founded colonies on the Atlantic coast, other emigrants came year by year to join them. We may think of the continuous flow of emigrants after the Second Great Emigration as a third period in colonial history, that of growth and the establishment of new frontiers. In the first half of the eighteenth century the number of persons in the colonies increased steadily and rapidly. By 1750 there were nearly a million and a half, about five times as many as in 1700. In some parts of the country, in New England for example, the increase was due mainly to the growth of families which had arrived in the earlier years of the settlements. Many contained seven or eight children, who left the old home to help found families of their own. In other parts of the country the native families increased rapidly, and thousands of emigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany, or from the older colonies, arrived to swell the numbers.

The first settlements had been made on the coast or on the banks of some bay or river, at a place which sea-going ships might reach. As the population increased, the better lands were soon taken up, and newcomers as well as enterprising young men and women of the older settlements left the coast, moved farther up the rivers, or climbed the foothills of the

King's Bench Prison, London, for Poor Debtors in the Eighteenth Century

great Appalachian barrier. New frontiers were formed. In this way began the westward movement, which was not to stop until it reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Redemptioners. — Many of those who arrived in the colonies would not have been able to come had not some one lent them the money. Often they agreed to work a certain number of years in return for it. In this case they were called "indentured servants," as at Jamestown, or quite as often "redemptioners," because they expected to redeem or free themselves by work. Fortunately the farmer-masters were generally kind, and taught the newcomer the things that he would need to know when he should become a farmer on his own account. In this respect the

plan was very much like a colonial custom of apprenticeship brought from the old country by which boys learned trades. At the end of the years of service the indentured servant or redemptioner became free. He received a gift from his master — clothing, wheat for seed, and a pig or calf for his future farm. The colony usually gave him a tract of land on the frontier. The women received clothing. In this way, by a few years of labor a man or woman, and even a boy or girl, became a free and prosperous colonist in the new country.

A Mountain Home in the Southern Highlands

Questions

1. Who came to America after the English civil war? Where did these emigrants settle? What colony did Englishmen found in the West Indies? What one did they take from the Spaniards?

2. Who were the Dissenters? How were they treated in England?

3. Why did Penn become interested in America? Where did the Quakers at first settle? Who besides Quakers settled in New Jersey?

4. What was Penn's "Holy Experiment"? What lands did Penn secure in America? In what ways did Penn show himself liberal with his colonists?

5. Who formed Penn's first colonists? Where did they make their chief settlements?

6. How did Penn manage to keep the friendship of the Indians?

7. How did Penn govern his colony after returning to England?

8. Who first settled within what is now North Carolina? Who obtained the rights over the Carolinas? What other settlement did the proprietors make?

9. Who besides English Dissenters went to South Carolina? How were the Huguenots treated in South Carolina?

10. Why were the Carolinas separated? Who obtained the rights of the proprietors over the Carolinas?

11. What was Oglethorpe's plan for aiding English debtors? Why did the people of South Carolina welcome neighbors and help them?

12. Why did Georgia grow slowly? Who took Oglethorpe's place as head of the colony?

13. How many people were there in the English colonies by 1750? What was the chief way in which New England increased in population after the first settlement? What large bodies of emigrants swelled the numbers in the other colonies?

14. Why did men leave the older settlements for the frontier? What name is given in American history to the constant movement of settlers toward the frontier?

15. How could poor boys and girls get to America? What became of the indentured servants when their time was up?

Exercises

1. Make three lists: (1) one of the colonies established by proprietors, (2) of those established by the effort of a trading company, and (3) of those planted by the voluntary effort of the colonists.

2. What was the first great emigration in American history? Was its cause similar to that of the second great emigration? Where did the emigrants settle in each case?

Review

Founding of the English Colonies

1607. The Virginia Company founds a colony at Jamestown.
1620. The Pilgrims settle at Plymouth.
1630. The Massachusetts Bay Company founds a colony at Boston and at other places on Massachusetts Bay.
1634. Baltimore starts a settlement at St. Mary's.
1636. Emigrants from Massachusetts begin the towns of Connecticut.
1636. Roger Williams and other exiles from Massachusetts found settlements in Rhode Island.
1638. Puritans from England found a colony at New Haven.
1665. The proprietors of New Jersey begin the active settlement of a new colony. Earlier settlers had established themselves at various places.
1670. The proprietors of the Carolinas found Charleston, though not the first settlement in the Carolinas.
1681. Penn sends a body of Quakers to Pennsylvania. Philadelphia founded in 1682.
1733. Oglethorpe begins a settlement at Savannah, Georgia.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRENCH RIVALS

The First French Settlements. — While the English were busy planting colonies along the Atlantic shore the French had entered the St. Lawrence Valley, discovered the Great Lakes, and explored the Mississippi. Their first leader was Samuel de Champlain, who sailed for America in 1604.

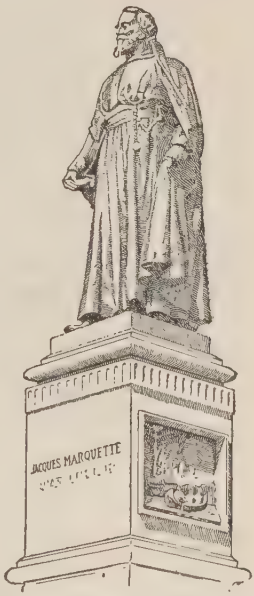
CHAMPLAIN'S FIGHT WITH THE IROQUOIS
After a drawing by Champlain in his *Voyages*

After exploring the coast he concluded that the region of the St. Lawrence offered the best chance for a successful colony. He selected a point where the river, very broad in its lower course, narrows to less than a mile. Close to the banks rises a high plateau with steep, rocky slopes, easy to defend against an enemy. The strait, or narrows, was called "Quebec" by the Indians, and this name was given

to Champlain's village. Three years later Montreal was founded just below the Lachine Rapids, where the Ottawa River empties into the St. Lawrence.

Discovery of the Great Lakes. — Like all other explorers Champlain was anxious to discover some passage to the South Sea. He was soon on good terms with his Indian neighbors, the Algonquins, but gained the hatred of the powerful Iroquois by joining the Algonquins in an attack upon them on the shores of the beautiful lake which now bears his name. Because of their hostility he did not visit Lake Erie, but he discovered Lake Ontario.

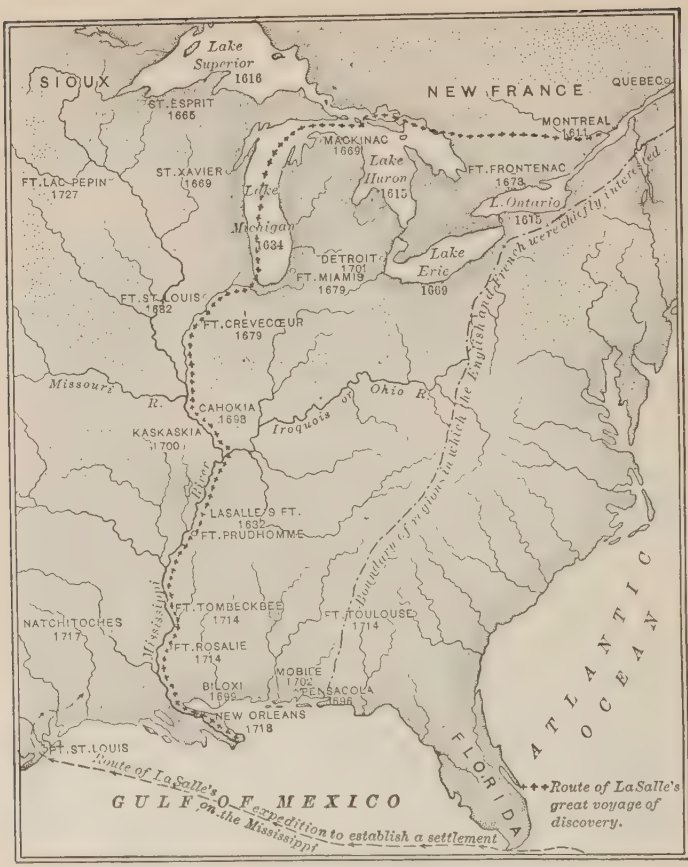
His most wonderful journey took him to Lake Huron. He followed the Ottawa River to its source, crossed over to streams flowing westward through a chain of small lakes, and paddled down to Georgian Bay and on to Lake Huron. Before he died, in 1635, his men had discovered Lake Superior and Lake Michigan.



STATUE OF MARQUETTE
At Marquette, Mich.

Father Marquette. — After the death of Champlain other Frenchmen pushed forward the work of exploring the western country. Some of these were missionaries, especially Jesuits or members of the Society of Jesus, who went into this region to establish mission stations among the Indians. Father Jacques Marquette was one of these. The Indians from time to time gave him reports of a great river beyond the Lakes. Marquette thought that this might lead to the South Sea.

Discovery of the Mississippi. — In 1673, in company with Louis Joliet, a fur trader, and five men, Marquette set out in search of the river. Their outfit consisted of two canoes



MAP OF LA SALLE'S EXPLORATIONS

and a supply of smoked beef and Indian corn. From Lake Michigan they turned into the Fox River. Near the head of the Fox, Indian guides showed them an easy path or portage to the headwaters of the Wisconsin River. They paddled down the Wisconsin until they reached the Mississippi, the great river that the Indians had described. Marquette followed its course for a month, passing the point where the swift but muddy waters of the Missouri joined it. He also saw the lonely forest which was to be the site of

St. Louis, and passed the mouth of the Ohio. Near the mouth of the Arkansas River, not far from where De Soto had crossed the Mississippi more than a hundred years before, the little party turned back. They had discovered that the Mississippi would not carry them to the Pacific.

La Salle explores the Mississippi. — The greatest of French explorers was La Salle. Moved by the story of Marquette's discovery he resolved to trace the great river to its mouth and claim the whole region for his king and country. Twice he attempted the long and difficult voyage from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. Finally, in 1682, he was successful.

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle

The little company of French woodsmen and Indians left Lake Michigan in midwinter and dragged their canoes over the ice to the headwaters of the Illinois, and paddled down the dangerous stream, in the midst of breaking ice, to the Mississippi. After they reached the Mississippi their task was easier, although their frail canoes were often in peril. In the balmy spring of 1682, after a voyage of three months and a half, they arrived at the mouth of the river. La Salle solemnly took possession of the whole valley, including, he said, "all the nations, peoples, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers." This was a way explorers had of claiming everything. He set up a pole bearing the arms of France, with an inscription or writing giving the date and the king's name. He also buried a leaden plate similarly marked. A wooden cross was planted beside the pole. He named the region Louisiana in honor of King Louis XIV. A few years later La Salle lost his life in an attempt to found a settlement there.

Jesuit Missionaries. — One purpose which the founders of the French colonies had was the conversion of the Indians to the Christian faith. Missionaries, accordingly, were prominent in the Canadian settlements. The Jesuits were especially zealous, brave, and self-sacrificing. They pushed ahead of the other settlers, seeking new tribes near which to establish stations. Their lives were often in danger. Some suffered untold tortures, and others were burned at the stake. The world has no nobler story than the record of their labors and their martyrdom.

A Coureur de Bois or Wood-ranger

Pushing into the interior in search of the best places for trade with the Indians

The Beginnings of Canadian Towns. — An Indian mission station began with a chapel made of bark, which was soon replaced by a well-built church. The first missionaries, like the traders, lived among the Indians. As the mission prospered, separate homes were built for them near the church. If the governor of Canada deemed the settlement important, a few soldiers were stationed there. A storehouse for traders was also built, and the whole group of houses surrounded by a palisade to guard against sudden attack by hostile Indians. Usually the wigwams of friendly Indians stood not far away on the edge of a wood. Such was the beginning of many a Canadian town. Father Marquette had founded a station of this sort on the Straits of Mackinac. It was from there that he set out in search of the Mississippi River in 1673. Another station was established in 1701 on the river which joins Lake Erie and Lake Huron, and was named Detroit.

Fur Trade. — As the fur trade was profitable, about a third of the French colonists made no attempt to cultivate the soil. They pushed deeper and deeper into the woods in search of the best places at which to trade with the Indians. These wood-rangers, or *coureurs de bois* as the French called them, lived with the Indians most of the year, and differed from them little in dress and habits. The king's officers threatened to brand any who went among the Indians without a license, because they feared the farms would be abandoned, but many young men were fascinated by life in the

A View of Detroit in 1705

After an old print

woods and ran the risk. The Indians often brought their furs to the larger towns. Annual fairs were held at posts like Mackinac, Detroit, and Montreal. To them came throngs of Indians with heavily loaded canoes and set up their wigwams.

Conflict with the English. — The French were not left long in undisturbed possession of Canada. The first quarrel was about the fur trade. In 1670 a number of English nobles, including the king's brother James, proprietor of New York, formed the Hudson Bay Company, and obtained from Charles II the right to all the country drained by the rivers which flowed into Hudson Bay. Their agents established posts on the shores of the bay and began to take

trade from the French by offering better prices to the Indians. The French resolved to ruin these rivals, and in 1685 a war party started up the Ottawa River for Hudson Bay. But the English could not be driven away, and the French were finally obliged to leave the Hudson Bay Company's territory alone.

The Iroquois become "English." — About the same time the French and the English began to struggle for the control of the Iroquois Indians, the powerful group of tribes which held all northern and western New York. French Jesuit missionaries had already gone among the Iroquois, but did not succeed in winning them as they won the Indians elsewhere. While James was still Duke of York and proprietor of this region, his agents met the Iroquois chiefs at Albany and persuaded them to acknowledge that they were subjects of the king of England. The English then hung up at the Indian towns and strongholds the coat of arms of Duke James, and warned French parties which attempted to enter the region that they were trespassing on English territory.

Door of House in Deerfield, Massachusetts, attacked by Indians in Queen Anne's War

In Deerfield Museum

The Horrors of War. — Soon afterward England and France began to fight over their rivalries in Europe. The two first wars lasted twenty years, and were called King William's War and Queen Anne's War. This caused fighting between the English and the French colonists. Both sides made use of Indian allies in attacking one another, encouraging them to rob and murder in heartless fashion. In 1690 a party of French and Indians stole through the open gate of the frontier village of Schenectady at about eleven o'clock on a cold winter night. In a short time they killed

more than half of the inhabitants and carried away many as captives. The English soon had their revenge, for with a band of their Indian allies they attacked a small village on the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal, burnt the houses, slaughtered the cattle, and killed or captured as many of the inhabitants as they could find.

Conquest of Acadia. — Before these two wars were over the English gained one important territory. In 1710 an

Portages indicated thus: ▬

MAP OF PORTAGES IN NEW FRANCE AND THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

The rivers and lakes, with their portages, were the highways for the missionaries, fur traders, and explorers

English army, with the aid of colonists, mainly from Boston, conquered Acadia, the most easterly of the French Canadian colonies. Port Royal, its capital, had been founded by Champlain. The English changed the name of Acadia to Nova Scotia and of Port Royal to Annapolis. For a long time few Englishmen cared to emigrate to Nova Scotia and the colony remained French, though ruled by English officers.

The French in the Mississippi Valley. — While the English were slowly advancing upon the French from the north and

the east, that is, from the shores of Hudson Bay and from Nova Scotia, the French strengthened their hold on the Mississippi Valley, especially at its southern end on the Gulf of Mexico.

The man who won fame in this enterprise was Pierre le Moyne, commonly known as Iberville. He had led the French against the English on the shores of Hudson Bay. Now, in the interval between King William's War and Queen Anne's War, with a little fleet of four vessels, having on board 200 colonists and soldiers, he sailed from France in search of the Mississippi. Iberville was a great admirer of La Salle and resolved to push forward the work which La Salle had begun. In March, 1699, he discovered the Mississippi and rowed up its waters as far as the mouth of the Red River. Tonty, one of La Salle's men, who since his leader's death had remained at Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, soon learned of the successful attempt of the French to take possession of the region at the mouth of the Mississippi, and sent messages and advice to them.

Ruins of Old Kaskaskia

From a recent photograph. There was once a French village of 80 houses where these ruins stand, about 60 miles below St. Louis at the mouth of the Kaskaskia River

The English Peril Again. — Before the year was out a French party floating down the river suddenly came upon an English sixteen-gun ship a few miles below where New Orleans now stands. This ship had been sent out by one of the proprietors of Carolina to found settlements which should protect the western part of the region which the Carolina proprietors supposed they owned. In the grants to proprietors or companies the English kings had usually said that their lands extended westward to the Pacific Ocean. Nevertheless, the captain of the ship was persuaded not to

attempt a settlement, the French telling him that they had a large force established farther up the river.

A year later another party of Frenchmen discovered an English trader at the mouth of the Arkansas River. He also was from Carolina, one of those who with pack horses were making their way over the low southern ranges of the Appalachian barrier and trying to establish a trade in furs with the Indians, even with the tribes beyond the southern Mississippi. The route was long and perilous and the French were in no great danger from this quarter.

NEW ORLEANS IN 1718
After an old print

French Settlements on the Mississippi. — As the new century began the French were busily establishing settlements up and down the great valley. They extended from Cahokia and Kaskaskia in the Illinois country to Mobile on the coast. In 1718 Bienville, Iberville's brother, founded New Orleans on a plain which was fairly dry, though surrounded by marshes. An embankment, or levee, was built around the little settlement to protect it from river floods. Already the settlements of the Illinois country had been placed under the governor of the new colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. New Orleans became the chief market, being much more easily reached than Montreal or Quebec. The men of the Illinois country loaded their furs, flour, and pork on wide,

flat barges and floated down to New Orleans. The journey homeward was much more difficult, hundreds of miles against the current. They took back sugar, rice, cotton, tobacco, and articles from France.

By the close of the first two or three decades of the eighteenth century it looked as if the French had outstripped the English in the discovery and occupation of the Mississippi Valley, the broadest and richest region within what is now the United States. The question was, could they hold it?

Questions

1. What region did Champlain choose for a French settlement? Why?

2. What allies did Champlain have among the Indians?

3. By what route did Marquette find the Mississippi? What part of North America did La Salle explore?

4. What part did the Jesuits and traders have in the spread of French settlements?

5. Why did France have difficulty in obtaining farmers to cultivate the soil of Canada? How did the wood-rangers live? In what two ways did the French people carry on the fur trade with the Indians?

6. Why did the English form the Hudson Bay Company?

7. Why did both the French and the English try to win the friendship of the Iroquois? Which succeeded?

8. What part had the Indians in the border wars between the French and the English?

9. What colony did the English take from the French by conquest in the war ending in 1713? What was its new name?

10. What new colony had the French just founded, making up for the loss of Acadia? Who had attempted before Iberville to found a colony on the lower Mississippi? What signs were there that the French settlements on the Mississippi were not entirely safe from attack?

11. How extensive were the French settlements in the West?

Exercises

1. By use of the map, page 93, find the various waterways by which the French could travel from Canada to their settlements in the Mississippi Valley.

Important Dates:

1701. The French begin a settlement at Detroit within what is now the United States.

1718. The founding of New Orleans by the French.

CHAPTER X

HOW THE COLONISTS LIVED

Changes in Manner of Living. — As the colonists increased in number the principal settlements changed in appearance. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and a few other places began to resemble English cities. The well-to-do built houses much like those which were being built by the Lon-

HOME OF A PROSPEROUS COLONIST IN THE SOUTH
Westover Mansion, the home of Colonel Byrd, on the James River

don merchants of the time. Some of them are still standing.[1] The cities, however, were small, Philadelphia, the largest, having only 20,000 inhabitants.

On the new frontier the settlers lived like the first inhabitants of Plymouth or Jamestown. They hunted, fished, and raised a few articles of food. Some of them were busied

[1] Houses built in that style of architecture are called colonial. In England they are called Georgian, because built in the time of King George I or George II. The English Georgian houses were commonly of brick, while the colonial houses were often of wood.

with the fur trade, which was no longer carried on in the older settlements.

Differences between the Colonies. — The colonies also differed from one another, because of differences in climate or in the nature of the soil. In South Carolina rice, and later indigo and cotton, could be raised. In Virginia the main crop was tobacco. Both rice and tobacco were usually cultivated on large plantations. Farther north the soil and

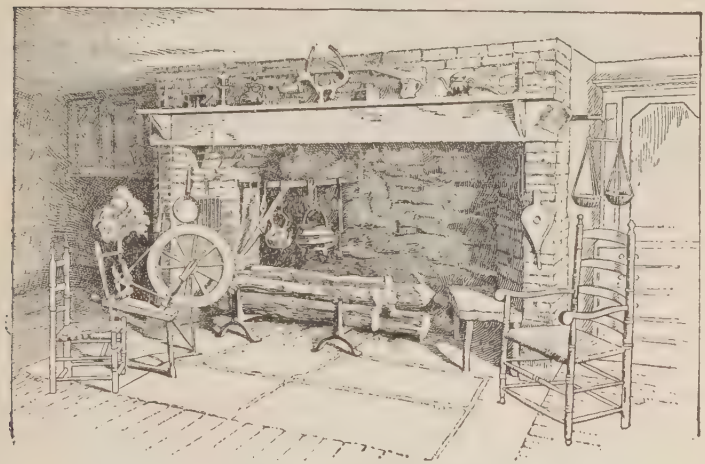
Colonial or Georgian House

climate were not suited to such crops. The land was divided into small farms, and corn, wheat, oats, and beans were raised. The farmers lived in villages. In the South the people were not usually grouped in villages, except that the cabins of servants or slaves stood not far from the planter's house.

What the Colonists did not have. — Many things now considered necessary, such as matches, kerosene, gas, electricity, and telephones, the colonists did not have. Neither did the Europeans of that time have them, for they had not been invented. The ordinary settlers were without many things then common in Europe, but the planters and merchants often lived like well-to-do Europeans.

Open fire-places served for both heating and cooking. Fires were carefully banked with ashes to keep them from going out, for if they went out the settler would be obliged to seek live coals at the house of a neighbor. Churches were not heated. People sometimes carried foot-warmers to church and kept on their hats, great-coats, and mittens during the service.

The better houses were lighted by candles; in the others pine-knot torches were used. Frequently the light from the



A Colonial Kitchen Fire-Place

fire-place was enough. Rich people had lamps in which sperm oil was burned. These were lighted only on important occasions.

Farming in the Colonies. — The colonists were mostly farmers or planters. Methods of farming used nowadays were unheard of even in Europe. The English or European farmer managed his land as his forefathers had for a thousand years. He knew that land, like everything else, wore out. He did not understand of what elements soils are composed, and what must be put into them each year in order to obtain large crops. He tried to keep the land in good

condition by allowing it to lie uncultivated or fallow every third year, believing that it would rest and regain its strength. He tried what is called rotation of crops, that is, planting different crops, as the years came around, on the same piece of land. But he did not understand, as does the farmer of today, what crops serve this purpose best.

Settlers in America had one advantage — there was plenty of land. After a field became worn out they could plow up another, or move to a region where the soil was rich. The crops raised in the North did not exhaust the soil quickly, but planters in the South discovered that new fields must often be found for tobacco.

A More Common Colonial Home

Farming tools were simple and rude. Machinery had not been invented. The plow, mostly of wood, scratched a shallow furrow. A scythe or even a sickle was used to harvest grain. Threshing was done by a hand-flail or by the treading of horses or oxen on a hard floor. After the grain was beaten from the stalk, it was thrown into the air against the wind to blow out the chaff, and was finally passed through sieves.

Plantations. — Farming on the great plantations of the South was very different. Some plantations contained many thousand acres. The work of plowing, planting, hoeing, and gathering tobacco was done at first by indentured servants. In the eighteenth century it was done mostly by slaves. As slaves were ignorant, an overseer for every twenty negroes was necessary. The profits were often large. But the method was ruinous, because no attempt was made to put back into the soil what the tobacco plants were steadily taking out. After a time the fields were "dead." Rice growing on the plantations of South Carolina was not so

profitable, because expenses were greater. Low, wet fields were needed, and the laborer must often stand in water or mud. The sun was hot, and malaria was a common disease. If slaves sickened and died, planters lost heavily. In the Piedmont region of the South the farms were often small, and the crops like those raised in the North.

Household Industries. — Much was done on farms and plantations besides raising crops. Clothing, utensils, and household supplies must be prepared. The farmer's house was a workshop. Roads were few and poor. Rivers and the ocean were the natural highways. Little trade went on between the settlements. This was not the only reason for

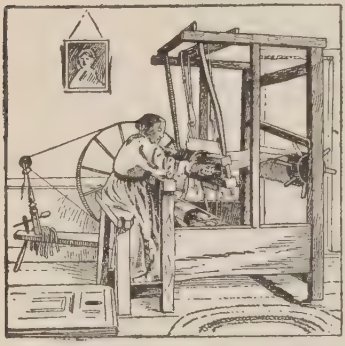
Carrying Tobacco to the Wharf in Virginia

household industries. In England and Europe many trades were still carried on in homes or in shops connected with them. There were no factories, for machinery and power to run it had not been invented. The English weaver got his thread or yarn from merchants, wove cloth at home, and sold it to the merchant. This was called the "domestic system." In the colonies the women spun the yarn, often wove the cloth, and cut and finished the clothing for their families. Spinning wheels were found in every home. In Massachusetts in 1656 every family was required by law to teach its girls to spin. Each woman was expected to spin three pounds of yarn, cotton or wool, every week for thirty weeks of the year. If she failed she might be fined.

Men made many things with ax and jack-knife. Plows and harrows were mostly of wood. Boys whittled butter

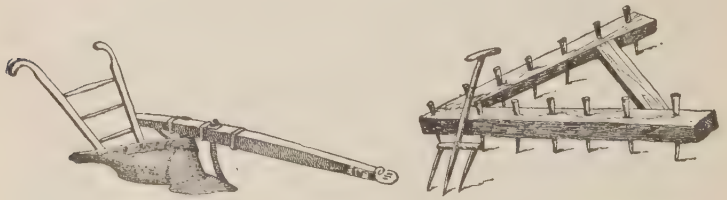
paddles for the dairy, or box traps and "figure-four" traps for catching animals.

Many things which the planter needed were made by slaves, but other things he obtained in exchange for his rice or tobacco. The ships which came from England for these brought costly clothing, crockery, pictures, and furniture. The northern settler was also eager to buy English goods. His trouble was to find enough that the English merchants wanted in exchange. In those days neither England nor any other European country needed to buy food of America. At first the settlers had furs to sell, but by and by most of the fur-bearing animals were killed or driven inland.



Spinning Wheel and Colonial Loom

An English writer in 1720 explained in the quaint style of his time the difficulties of the New Englanders, whose delight, said he, "is to wear English manufactures." "They have no silver mines, nothing to send but pitch, tar, turpentine, and ships, which would go but a little way toward clothing such a number of people." And yet, said he, they make "a shift to scrape up about £150,000 to pay for the goods they buy of us."



Wooden Plow, Harrow, and Fork

Work in Shops and Mills. — While many things were made in the homes, others were manufactured by master workmen

and their apprentices, or learners, in shops and small mills. The shops of weavers were almost as common in the colonies as those of blacksmiths. Weavers often traveled about the colonies as harvest hands do today. On the plantations in the South some slave was usually taught the trade of the weaver. Most of the shoes of the colonists and other leather goods were made in America. The Massachusetts government made laws to prevent the waste of hides. Shoe-makers who came from England taught the farmers to make shoes. The farmer spent part of the long winter days in making shoes for his family, but other men gave all their time to making shoes for sale. Soon after Lynn was settled it had many shoe-makers, working in their homes or in small shops. Shoes made in Massachusetts were sold in the other colonies.

TINDER BOX, FLINT, AND STEEL

MOULD FOR MAKING CANDLES

Nearly every town had its small flour mill and saw mill, run by water-power. A small amount of iron was made in the colonies. The first furnaces used ore known as "bog iron," found in swampy regions. Later better ore was found in the hills of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

Many farmers, especially in New England, made nails and tacks and simple tools to sell to their neighbors. A hammer, an anvil, and a small furnace in the chimney-corner of the living-room formed the outfit necessary for this, which was another of the home or domestic industries of colonial times. But the greater part of the iron and steel used in the colonies

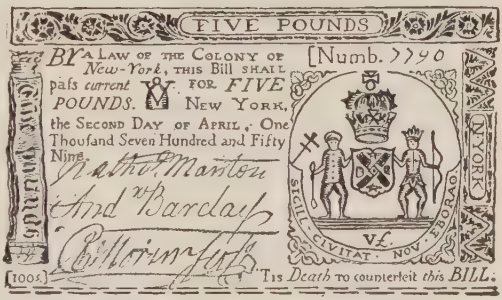
came into them from England in the shape of tools and household implements.

Colonial Adventurers upon the Seas. — The colonists, especially of the northern colonies, early began to build ships, for which they had an abundance of the best timber at their very doors. As many as seventy ships were launched in a single year in New England ports. American ships were found on every sea. Many sailors, from New England in particular, were engaged in fishing for cod and mackerel off the coast or on the Banks of Newfoundland. Sailors learned to capture the sperm whale and to obtain oil from the blubber. Towns like Marblehead, Nantucket, and New Bedford were famous for their success in whaling.

A Colonial Iron Furnace
Cannon were cast here during the Revolution for the Continental Army

Trade with the West Indies. — The northern colonies found trade with the West Indies very profitable. Planters in Barbados, Jamaica, and other English islands, gained such large profits from raising sugar that they did not take time to raise food or cut the timber they needed. They preferred to buy such things of the Atlantic coast settlers. Hundreds of ships went from New England, New York, and the Delaware River, loaded with horses, oxen, sheep, hogs, fish, corn, peas, beans, oats, and flour. Planters sometimes bought house-frames all ready to set up, and staves and hoops for sugar barrels. The northern ship-masters took in return sugar, molasses, and usually some money. The money they found useful in buying in England articles which were not made in America.

Money. — Money is needed to carry on business. Those who have something to exchange cannot readily find the person who wants it and who has something they are willing to receive. For this reason the first Plymouth colonists used polished shells and the Virginians used tobacco as money. English coins did not remain long in the colonies, chiefly because the colonists always bought more of the English merchants than they sold to them and were obliged to pay the difference in coin. Spanish coins were the most common. After 1728 the new Spanish "dollar," with its halves and quarters, and Portuguese coins were widely used.


FIVE POUNDS
BY A LAW OF THE COLONY OF New-York, THIS BILL SHALL pass current FOR FIVE POUNDS. NEW YORK.
[Numb. 7790
the SECOND DAY OF APRIL, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Nine.
Mathew Manton
And Barclay
Catharine Rutgers
[100£]
'Tis Death to counterfeit this BILL.
NEW YORK

NEW YORK COLONIAL PAPER MONEY

Paper Money. — During the wars with the French, Massachusetts, having no money in its treasury to pay the soldiers, ordered paper money, or promises to pay, to be given them. Massachusetts frequently chose this easy way of paying its debts. The same thing was done by most of the other colonies. The difficulty was that the promises to pay were not kept, and that it took at various times from seven to twenty-six dollars in paper to obtain one dollar in coin. The English government attempted to stop the issue of such money, but without much success.

Colonial Schools. — One consequence of the lack of money was inability to provide good schools. In several colonies the legislatures had voted that schools should be established by all towns containing a certain number of families. Massachusetts threatened to fine towns which did not obey the law. Twice the fines were doubled, but it was easier to pay them than to support teachers. In Pennsylvania parents who did not teach their children to read and write were

threatened with a fine of £5. The growth of schools in the South was still slower, because the inhabitants were more scattered. In Virginia a few private schools were founded with money left by prosperous planters. Sons of planters were sent to England for their education or were taught by private teachers. Public schools in the colonies were only for boys. Girls sometimes learned to read and write in private schools.

A Colonial School

Colleges. — Harvard remained the only college until just at the close of the seventeenth century, when a college was founded in Virginia, and named William and Mary for the monarchs then reigning in England. A few years later, in 1701, a college was established in Connecticut and named after Elihu Yale, a wealthy merchant who gave it a large sum. Soon other colleges were founded — at Princeton in New Jersey, at Providence in Rhode Island, and at Hanover in New Hampshire. Benjamin Franklin was one of the founders of an "Academy" at Philadelphia, which later became the University of Pennsylvania. It differed from the other colleges in making the study of the English language as important as the study of Latin and Greek.

The main purpose of the colleges was to train clergymen. For this reason older students in Yale were required to "read some part of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek in the morning and to turn some part of the New Testament out of English or Latin into Greek at the time of the evening recitation." Dartmouth College was originally intended

to train Indians to teach Christianity to their tribes. In Franklin's "Academy" other needs of the community were equally remembered. However, a young man wishing to study law or medicine had to do so in the office of a lawyer or a doctor, and not at a college.

Printing. — Most of the books in the colonies were brought from England and Europe, but a few books and pamphlets were printed in America. A printing press was set up in Massachusetts as early as 1638. Newspapers were rare. This is not surprising, because there were none in Eng-

College of William and Mary

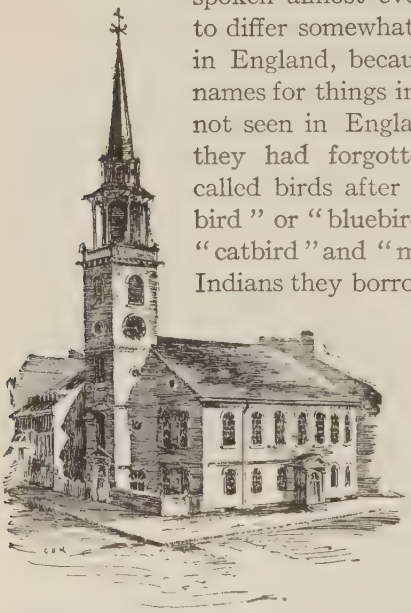
After a drawing made about 1740

land until 1622. The Boston *News Letter*, begun in 1704, was the first in America. One was started in New York in 1725, and another, by Franklin, in Philadelphia, eight years later. All these papers looked like small leaflets and were published once a week.

Almanacs were very popular. One which Franklin published was called *Poor Richard's Almanac*. It contained, besides the calendar and list of eclipses, many bits of history, proverbs, and practical advice. Books and newspapers were costly, but everybody could have *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Franklin's rhymes and jokes and quaint sayings taught his readers many things, above all to be frugal and industrious. One of his sayings was, "Sloth like Rust consumes faster than Labor wears"; another, everywhere familiar, "Early

to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise."

Language in the Colonies. — Though many of the colonists came from the continent of Europe, English was the language spoken almost everywhere. It soon began to differ somewhat from the English spoken in England, because the colonists invented names for things in America which they had not seen in England or the names of which they had forgotten. For example, they called birds after their colors, like "blackbird" or "bluebird," or after their cry, like "catbird" and "mocking-bird." From the Indians they borrowed many names, such as moose, chipmunk, pecan, tobacco, canoe, hammock. The Indian names for rivers and lakes were often kept.



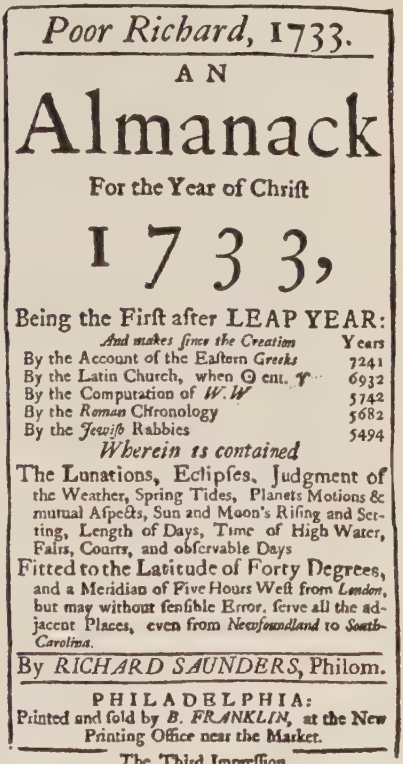
Old South Church, Boston

Religion. — The colonists were very religious. Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas adopted the Episcopal or English Church. Every one was obliged to pay for its services. Maryland had originally been planned as a refuge for the Roman Catholics, but the Protestants in time outnumbered them twelve to one. In Massachusetts and Connecticut most people were Congregationalists. Baptists were numerous in Rhode Island and North Carolina, and Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Wherever the Scotch-Irish settled, Presbyterian churches were founded.

Superstitions. — The colonists had many strange notions, now called superstitions. One was a belief in witchcraft, which they brought over from England and Europe. There the belief in witches was widespread. If butter was slow

in coming when cream was churned, the colonist thought that witches were in it and must be driven out by dropping a red-hot horse-shoe into the cream. If pigs were sick they were supposed to be bewitched.

Horse-shoes or broomsticks were often placed over doorways to keep out witches. To be a witch, that is, possessed by an evil spirit, was regarded as worse than a misfortune — it was a crime. Many hundreds had been put to death in Europe as witches. Salem, Massachusetts, gained an unhappy fame because of a panic about witches which seized the village early in 1692. Certain girls, troubled with what is now called hysteria, said they were tormented by witches, and accused neighbors, chiefly poor, ignorant, old women. Before the panic was over twenty persons had been found guilty by the courts and executed. This superstition lingered a long time after the persecutions at Salem ceased.



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Chriſt

1733,

Being the Firſt after LEAP YEAR:

And makes ſince the Creation	Years
By the Account of the Eaſtern *Greeks*	7241
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent. ♈	6932
By the Computation of *W. W*	5742
By the *Roman* Chronology	5682
By the *Jewiſh* Rabbies	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipſes, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aſpects, Sun and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and obſervable Days

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *London*, but may without ſenſible Error, ſerve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and ſold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing Office near the Market.

The Third Impreſſion.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF "POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC"

Amusements in the Colonies. — The colonists had much hard work to do, but they found time to play. When corn-husking season came, or the frame of a house was to be raised, the neighbors gathered to help. As soon as the work was

done all sat down to tables loaded with good things. Sometimes the men joined in a wolf hunt. The chase was always exciting and ended in the destruction of a dangerous pest.

The planters enjoyed horse-racing and fox-hunting. The Dutch introduced several healthful sports — bowling, skating, and sleigh riding. In Boston the boys kicked balls back and forth, somewhat after the manner of football. They had many other games such as boys play nowadays.

In New York and the southern colonies an occasional band of actors from England played in the chief towns. The Puritans, like the Puritans in England, were opposed to the theater, and would not allow plays in their towns.

Dress. — The well-to-do colonists followed English fashions. The planters and merchants, especially, tried to dress like the London merchants with whom they dealt. On Sundays and holidays the men wore wigs of long, powdered hair, tied in a cue, three-cornered hats covered with lace, coats of plush or broadcloth, often in bright colors, embroidered vests, tight-fitting knee-breeches, long silk stockings, and pointed shoes with silver buckles. The Puritans and Quakers dressed more simply. Indeed, few of the colonists could afford finery, and most of them dressed in homespun or leather or deerskin.

Questions

1. How did the appearance of the older settlements change? Where were colonists to be found who were living as the earlier settlers had lived?

2. Why did the colonies differ greatly in occupations and manner of life? In what ways did they differ?

3. Is it strange that the colonists did not have many things which we now have? Name some of the things that we use every day which they did not have. How were the houses heated and lighted?

4. Why were the colonists not as careful in farming as farmers today?

5. How was a plantation managed? What did the overseer do? Who were the laborers on plantations? What did they raise? In what part of the South was farming like that in the North?

6. Why did the colonists do so many things in their own houses

instead of doing them in factories as today? What work was done in the homes as household industries?

7. What work was carried on in shops and mills? At what other occupations than farming did the farmers sometimes work?

8. What profitable trade did the northern colonies find?

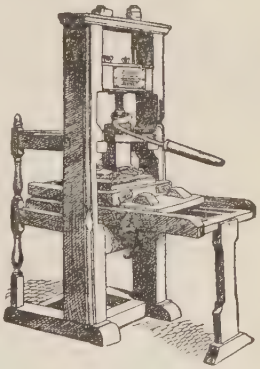
9. What did the colonists use as money? Why was colonial paper money not a good kind of money?

10. Why were the colonial schools few in number? Why did the southern colonies have even fewer schools than the northern colonies?

11. What colleges were founded in colonial days? What was the main object of the people in founding colleges? In what way did Franklin's Academy at Philadelphia differ from the others?

12. Why was *Poor Richard's Almanac* so widely read and so popular? What useful things did it teach the people?

13. How did the English language in the colonies differ from English as spoken in England?



FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS

In the custody of the Smithsonian Institution

Exercises

1. Visit a museum and examine all articles which illustrate colonial life, and tell about these in class.

2. Gather pictures of colonial houses, money, farm tools, furniture, etc.

3. Make out a list of the household or home industries carried on by men and women in colonial times. Underscore any which are still found in the homes.

4. Collect examples of superstitions or strange notions still known, whether believed or not.

5. Make two lists of amusements — one for colonial times, another of those common in some part of the United States today.

CHAPTER XI

HOW THE COLONIES WERE GOVERNED

Transplanting English Government to the Colonies. — The English colonists came from a country where their fathers had won many rights of self-government. It was natural that they should transplant to their new homes the methods with which they had become familiar. Each colony, therefore, became in government a little England.

Rights of Englishmen. — In England the people had compelled the kings to keep the promises made in Magna Charta and in other charters of liberty. The most important of these promises were that persons accused should be tried before juries chosen from among the men of the community, and that those who were convicted should not suffer cruel or unusual punishments. Other promises declared that the people should be able to petition for a redress of grievances, and should be asked to pay only those taxes which their representatives in parliament had voted. All these were thought of as the rights of Englishmen. These also the colonists claimed as their rights. For one thing the colonists soon had courts and conducted trials, with juries and witnesses, as this was done at home. To some of the colonies the king gave charters, which, like Magna Charta, contained a list of rights. In 1641 the people of Massachusetts drew up a "body of liberties" which included the rights their fellow countrymen had won and others, like being governed by persons of their own choosing.

Local Government. — In England local affairs were managed partly by the officers of the counties and partly by those of the parishes into which the counties were divided. The parish was formed originally to take care of church questions, but it afterwards dealt with other matters. In New Eng-

land the parish became the town, and the parish meeting the town meeting. Here were managed the affairs of the church and the school, but also such things as the common fields, roads, ferries, bridges, and fences. At the meeting were chosen the town officials, — selectmen, constables, fence-viewers, field-drivers, pound-keepers for stray cattle, and tithing-men to arrest loafers and Sabbath breakers and to keep order among the boys at church.

In the southern colonies, including Maryland, as many of the settlers lived on large farms or plantations, nothing like the town meeting was convenient. Instead the governor

Great Seal Granted to the New England Colonies in 1685

of the colony appointed several justices of the peace and a sheriff who managed the affairs of each county. But the care of the church and the poor was left to the parish as in England.

The middle colonies, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, used a mixture of the town system of New England and the county system of the southern colonies. The New England town became in the middle colonies the township.

Provincial Government. — Legislatures existed in every colony. They were modeled after the English Parliament. At the head of the colonial government was a governor. In Connecticut and Rhode Island he was chosen by the

people, in Pennsylvania [1] and Maryland he was appointed by the proprietor, and in the other colonies by the king. Massachusetts originally had the right to choose a governor, but lost it during the reign of Charles II. Laws adopted by the colonial legislatures might be vetoed by the governor, or disapproved by the government in England. For the king or his ministers in England to veto colonial laws seemed

FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, IN COLONIAL TIMES
"The Cradle of Liberty"
The gift of Peter Faneuil, merchant, to Boston in 1740 for town meetings and a market house

unfair to the colonists. The king had ceased since 1707 to veto acts of parliament. If parliament could make laws for Englishmen at home, why should not the colonial assemblies do the same for Englishmen in the colonies?

Legislatures and Governors. — The legislatures of New York and Massachusetts had many disputes with the governors. One New York governor spent upon his own pleasures money which the legislature had raised for new fortifications. The legislature then appointed a treasurer to take charge of

[1] Delaware had the same governor as Pennsylvania.

expenditures, and was not very generous in the amounts which it voted. The governor threatened to have the taxes levied on the colony by parliament. The legislature finally declared that only the representatives chosen by the people had the right to vote away their money. This was the same language which parliament had used a hundred years before in its disputes with James I and Charles I.

The legislators thought that a governor would be more likely to listen to their wishes if he depended upon them

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE HEADING, SIGNATURE, AND SEAL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER OF 1628–1629

every year for his salary. In this practice they were simply following the example set by parliament in dealing with kings. One Massachusetts governor refused to accept the sums voted to him as salary because his orders from the home government declared that he must insist upon a permanent, rather than an annual, settlement of his salary.

Attacks on Colonial Charters. — At different times plans were proposed in England to make the colonies more dependent upon the will of officials appointed by the home government. In 1684 the charter[1] of Massachusetts was

[1] A charter described the rights of colonists, for example, their right to choose a governor or to select representatives to their assembly.

taken away. The people of Connecticut feared the same misfortune. There is a story that when the royal agent went before the general assembly of Connecticut to demand the charter, the debate was purposely prolonged until late in the evening. Finally the candles were blown out, and when they were relighted the charter had disappeared. Some one had carried it off and hidden it in the hollow of an oak, known thereafter as the Charter Oak.

After James II became king he made Edmund Andros governor of all the colonies north and east of the Delaware River; that is, New Jersey, New York, and all New England. Andros was given power to make laws, raise taxes, and settle disputes in his own court. James treated the liberties of Englishmen in the colonies with the same contempt with which he treated their rights in England. The revolution of 1688 soon sent the king into exile.

In 1689, when the people of Massachusetts learned what was taking place in England, they seized Andros, threw him into Castle William in Boston harbor, and then sent him back to England. Two years later Massachusetts received a new charter, but one which did not permit the people to choose their governor. Plymouth was at this time united with Massachusetts.

Customs Officials. — There were many other officers in the colonies besides the governors who were appointed by the king. The most unpopular were those whose duty it was to enforce the trade laws, or Navigation Acts as they were called. These, like modern tariffs, were intended in part to make England stronger than her rivals. To accomplish this trade laws treated the colonies as places from which to obtain materials not produced at home. If the colonies were in the Far East, it was spices, drugs, and precious stones. If they were in the West, it was first of all gold and silver, next furs, then ships, naval stores, sugar, and tobacco. To pay for these English merchants were supposed to send to the colonies clothing, furniture, and tools, indeed everything that the colonists had learned to want in their former homes.

The Navigation Laws did not permit foreign ships to trade in colonial ports, nor allow any ship whether English, colonial, or foreign, to take certain kinds of colonial products directly to foreign ports. Tobacco, indigo, and other dye stuffs were so restricted; sugar, rice, naval stores, and a few other products were on the list for a part of the time. The English laws, however, favored the colonists by making it to the advantage of Englishmen to use the sugar and tobacco of their own colonies, and by allowing colonial ships to engage in any trade that English ships could follow. Merchants, both English and American, often found it more profitable to take these products to foreign markets, and did so in spite of the laws against it. Such lawbreakers, called smugglers, were common.

THE OLD STATE HOUSE, BOSTON
Erected in 1748–1749 on the site occupied since 1657 by the Town House

The colonists, especially the New Englanders, found trade with the French and Spanish West Indies profitable because there they could buy sugar and molasses cheaper than in the English West Indies. When the English West Indian plantation owners found that the colonists were buying so much sugar and molasses from the French, they complained to the home government. Parliament tried in 1733 to stop the trade by putting high taxes on such products brought into the northern colonies. Then colonial shipmasters smuggled sugar and molasses as well as other forbidden objects. The West Indian planters soon obtained the privilege of sending their sugar to foreign markets in Europe, and ceased to care so much

about the colonial market. The Sugar Act was soon ignored by all.

When juries of colonists would not convict those who disobeyed these trade laws, the English government set up what were called "Admiralty Courts," [1] where a judge appointed by the king decided without a jury whether the person accused was guilty. This made the laws all the more unpopular, so many men thought it was not wrong to disobey them. But even in its navigation laws the English government was more liberal than any other government of those days. Not until the next century, however, did English statesmen begin to think of the colonies as a Greater Britain or an expansion of England whose people should have all the rights and privileges of Englishmen at home.

Whipping-Post

Punishments. — In the punishment of ordinary offenses or crimes the colonial courts were less harsh than the English courts. In England about 200 crimes were punished with death. Among these were sheep stealing, pocket picking, even if the amount was no more than a shilling, and stealing an article worth five shillings from a shop. In the colonies many crimes were also punished with death. Executions were public, and handbills were often circulated explaining the crime and holding up the fate of the criminal as a warning to evil-doers.

The purpose of several of the more ordinary punishments was the disgrace of the wrong-doer in the sight of his neighbors. The whipping-post, the pillory, and the stocks were in common use. The maker of the first stocks in Boston

[1] Special courts to try offenses against the shipping laws.

was sentenced to sit in them an hour because the magistrates thought he charged too much. A man in North Carolina who had stolen five dollars' worth of goods was sentenced to thirty-nine lashes on the bare back.

Colonial Inventions in Government. — In some respects the colonists improved on the forms of government in the homeland. There nothing so useful as the New England town meeting for the training of the people existed. Thomas Jefferson thought it "the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation." As the colonies spread westward new towns and new counties were formed and allowed to send representatives to the colonial assemblies. So it came about that all parts of a colony were represented.

PILLORY

Colonial Elections. — In another respect the colonists followed more closely the customs of the old country. Only land owners and taxpayers voted in the elections and took part in the town meetings. Clerks, artisans, and unskilled laborers were not voters. Usually the fact that a man was a Catholic or a Jew or that he had no religion was a sufficient reason why he should not be allowed to vote. As great numbers of those who had the right did not take the trouble to vote, colonial elections were controlled by the larger property holders. The offices fell to a few leading families. The day in which all men and women should have a share in government was still far in the future.

French and Spanish Colonies. — The English colonies, notwithstanding their disputes with their governors or other officials, had a great many more rights of self-government than either the Spanish or the French. As ordinary Frenchmen had little or no share in the government at home, it is

not surprising that they had none in the colonies. Each colony had a governor to command the soldiers and an *intendant* to manage affairs. The governor, *intendant*, and judges were appointed by the king. There were no juries. The Spanish colonists had town councils or *cabildos*, but no assemblies representing a whole colony.

Questions

1. What rights did the colonists claim? What changes were made in adapting the English parish to New England?

2. What did the New England town meeting do? What were the names of the chief officers of a town? Why was there no town meeting in the southern colonies? What took the place of it there? Where did the colonists get their ideas about local government?

3. Describe the general government of a colony. Who appointed the governors? Who chose the members of the legislatures or assemblies? Were the colonial legislatures completely free to make laws for the colonies? Why did the colonists think the veto of their laws by the English ministers unjust?

4. What disputes did the legislatures and governors have over the government of the colonies? How did the legislators manage to hold the governors in check? What words did the representatives of the colonists use which Englishmen had used in quarrels with James I and Charles I?

5. What officials of England were concerned with the government of the colonies? What additional blunder did England make in the management of colonial affairs?

6. What colonies lost their charters at one time or another? Why was it a disadvantage for a colony to lose its charter?

7. Which were more severe, the colonial or the English laws for punishing crime? Which had the more liberties, the English, French, or Spanish colonies?

8. What improvements did the colonists make in the English forms of government? In what did they follow closely English customs?

Exercises

1. Learn about the present local government in some part of the United States. Does this resemble most closely the local government in the northern, middle, or southern colonies?

2. Find out what town or city officers now perform the duties of the officers of an early New England town.

3. Make out a list of the officers, appointed by England, mentioned in this chapter, who had anything to do with governing the colonies.

CHAPTER XII

CONQUEST OF THE FRENCH COLONIES IN AMERICA

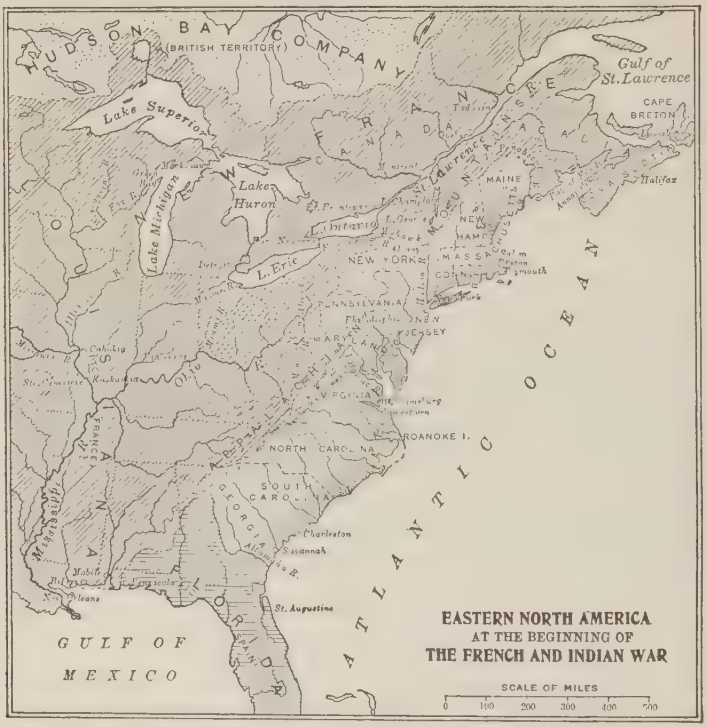
Crossing the Appalachian Barrier. — Before 1750 there were few English settlers beyond the great Appalachian barrier. Traders from the Carolinas and Georgia had ventured westward as far as the Mississippi. Traders from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York were beginning to find their way across the mountains to the banks of the Ohio. As the population of the colonies on the coast increased, it

A Frontier Post on Lake Ontario in 1730
Oswego, N. Y. After an old print

was certain that emigrants would follow in the footsteps of the traders. A vast unoccupied region stretched between the Appalachians and the French villages in the Illinois country. Moreover, the French settlements were small, containing altogether about 500 inhabitants.

Western Claims. — The region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi was not considered either by England or by France as vacant. The French claimed that their territory extended eastward to the mountains, while the English declared that they owned the whole country as far

as the Pacific. According to the original charters of Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, their lands extended to the South Sea, which was supposed to be not far distant. When it was discovered how far away the Pacific Ocean was, the colonists simply lengthened their claims.[1] After all, the



The territory occupied by the English is dotted

question whether the region beyond the mountains belonged to the French or to the English had to be decided by force.

French and English Rivalry. — In 1749 the French and English were each wide awake to what the other was doing.

[1] When the Carolinas and Georgia received charters the Pacific Ocean was made their western border, although the royal government knew by that time how distant the Pacific Ocean was.

They had just finished a war into which they had been drawn as allies of Frederick II of Prussia and Maria Theresa of Austria. They had fought in India and America as well as in Europe.

The French governor of Canada and the English in Virginia now took steps looking toward the occupation of the Ohio country. The French crossed from Lake Erie to Lake Chautauqua, and from there to the Allegheny River. They floated past the spot where Pittsburgh now stands, and went on as far as the Great Miami, returning to Lake Erie by the Maumee. Wherever they saw English traders, they warned them to leave the country.

CUMBERLAND AND THE NARROWS OF WILL'S MOUNTAIN, MARYLAND

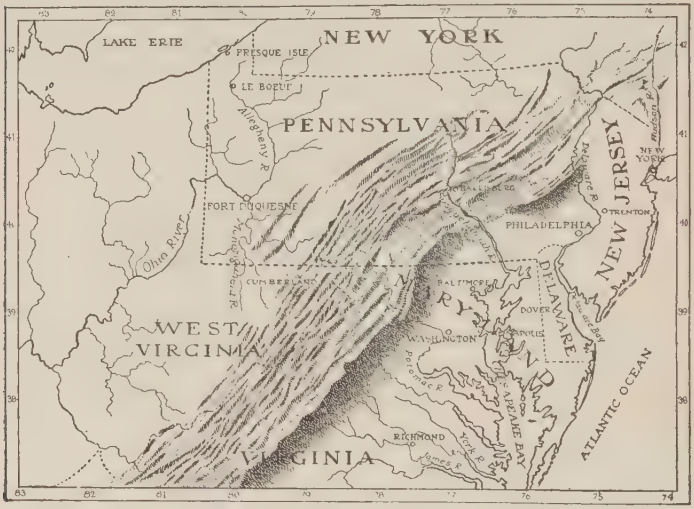
The natural passage or gateway through the first range of mountains on the route to the Ohio country

The Ohio Company. — While this expedition was completing its work, some Virginians, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, formed a land company. The company was granted half a million acres south of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers, on the condition of settling a hundred families in the region and of building and holding a fort.

One of the best routes from Virginia into the Ohio country lay along the upper Potomac to Cumberland, Maryland, where Will's Creek breaks through the mountains. This route crossed the ridges into the valley of the Youghiogheny or of the Monongahela. In 1753 the Ohio Company prepared to construct a fort near where the Allegheny and the Monongahela join to form the Ohio. The spot was ad-

mirable as a half-way station and a gateway through which emigrants might pass on to the region lower down on the Ohio. At the same time a few daring Virginia families took up lands along the Monongahela.

Advance of the French. — Meanwhile Governor Duquesne of Canada sent a thousand men to the Ohio country, ordering them to build forts and hold the mountain passes against English intruders. They built a log fort at Presque



THE OHIO COUNTRY AND THE NEW FRENCH FORTS
Showing especially the rivers, mountain barrier, and new French posts

Isle, near Erie, cut a road southward to French Creek, and seized an English trading post at the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny River. They were now only 120 miles from the Forks of the Ohio, where Pittsburgh is situated.

The news alarmed the Ohio Company, which had not yet built its fort. The governor of Virginia decided to send a messenger to warn the French that they had entered territory which was not theirs, and to demand that they withdraw. For the perilous journey Major George Washing-

ton was finally chosen. Although only twenty-one, he had already been several years on the Virginia frontier, engaged in surveying. He was a skilled woodsman and a hardy traveler. The death of his brother Lawrence had brought him an estate of 2500 acres beautifully situated on the Potomac. Such a plantation gave him a position of influence in the colony.

Washington started with several companions in October, 1753. Part of the way his route lay through trackless forests. The rivers were swollen and the ground was covered by the early winter snows. The journey took six weeks. Washington found the French commander at Fort Le Bœuf, near the northern boundary of Pennsylvania. The response which he carried back to Governor Dinwiddie declared that the French king was master of all the country west of the Allegheny Mountains.

WASHINGTON'S ROAD

Near where he met the French under Jumonville. As it looks today

Fort Duquesne. — A conflict was now certain. A body of Virginians was hurried forward to the Forks of the Ohio to build a fort. The French, not to be outwitted, descended the Allegheny River in canoes, drove away the workmen, and constructed a strong fort. They named it Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor of Canada. Meanwhile a large force of Virginians had been raised to occupy this position. The advance, commanded by Washington, met

a party of Frenchmen in the woods on the western slope of the mountains. A fight followed, in which the French claimed that the Virginians fired the first shots. Jumonville, the leader of the French, and 20 of his men were killed, and the rest surrendered. Soon afterwards Washington was attacked near the same spot at Fort Necessity, which he had hastily constructed. It was his turn to surrender, but the French permitted him to march back to Virginia on the understanding that no attempt should be made within a year to establish settlements west of the mountains.

The Seven Years' War. — This was the beginning of the French and Indian War. In Europe, France and England were still at peace. Indeed, war was not declared for two years. It then became part of a struggle in which almost all European countries were engaged, and which was called the Seven Years' War. France and Russia combined with Maria Theresa of Austria to take from Frederick the Great of Prussia the territory which he had gained in the preceding war.[1] England aided Frederick. This great European war accounts for the length of the French and Indian War in America. Both England and France were also fighting in India. The consequence was that neither could spare more than a small part of their troops for the conflict in America.

The English had a navy which was larger and stronger than the French navy, a very important advantage in a struggle beyond the sea. The English had 130 battle-ships,[2] while the French had only 63. Although the French had more soldiers than the English, they could not safely risk them on the ocean because they would probably be captured by the English fleet. It was therefore merely a question of time when the French in America would be overwhelmed. The only chance of the French was by crushing

[1] The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748, in which Frederick had conquered Silesia; called King George's War in the colonies.

[2] A battle-ship, or ship-of-the-line, at that time was, like other ships, made of wood. It ordinarily had three decks, and was armed with from 74 to 120 cannon.

Frederick the Great, England's ally, on the Continent. But after a few successes they were beaten by the Prussian king.

Indian Allies of France. — The Indians in the West took sides with the French. They looked upon the English beyond the mountains as intruders. As English settlements increased, the hunting grounds were spoiled. The French were few in number and interfered little with Indian lands. The fact that many of the Indians united with the French explains why the war was called "French and Indian."

DEVICE PRINTED IN FRANKLIN'S "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE"

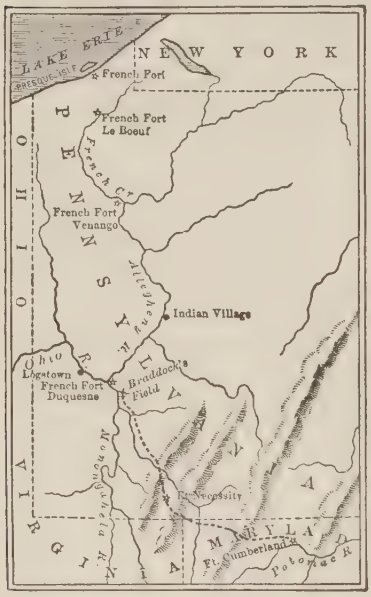
The Albany Congress. — The English were afraid that the Iroquois would join the western Indians against them, and arranged a conference at Albany in the summer of 1754. Commissioners from several colonies were present at this Albany conference or "Congress." They not only tried to strengthen the friendly attitude of the Iroquois, but also talked over plans of forming a union of the colonies.

Franklin's Plan of Union. — Benjamin Franklin, a delegate from Pennsylvania, was one of the first to see the need of uniting the colonies. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, his newspaper, he printed a picture of a wriggling snake cut into pieces, with the initial letter of a colony on each piece. An old superstition said that if a snake was cut up and the pieces allowed to touch, they would knit together and the snake would live. Underneath the picture Franklin printed the words, "Join or die." He meant that the colonies must unite or they would perish.

Franklin's plan was favored by the delegates at Albany, but was not adopted by the colonies. Few persons had any interest in union at that time. Moreover, some of the colonists were not alarmed, as the Virginians were, by the advance of the French into the Ohio country. The Quakers, who were very influential in Pennsylvania, were opposed to

war of any kind, and especially a war for territory. The colonies south of Virginia stood in dread of the Spaniards or of the Indians on their frontier. Something greater than a quarrel about a frontier post at the Forks of the Ohio would be required to move the colonies toward union.

Braddock's Defeat. — In 1755 the English government sent two regiments across the Atlantic to assist the Virginians in seizing Fort Duquesne. The expedition was commanded by General Braddock, a soldier of courage and ability, but wholly ignorant of fighting in the wilderness against Indians and woodsmen. Washington was in command of the Virginians.



Route of Braddock's Expedition

After a difficult march through the forest, during which ax-men were constantly busy cutting down trees in order to widen the trail, Braddock reached and crossed the Monongahela about eight miles above Fort Duquesne. While his army was moving through a wide bushy ravine, a French force with many Indians suddenly attacked it on all sides. Washington and the Virginians wished to scatter in the forest and fight behind trees in Indian fashion, but Braddock thought such a method cowardly and tried to keep his men in line, after the manner of fighting in Europe.

The result was disaster. After having four horses shot under him, Braddock fell mortally wounded. Washington lost two horses, and four times bullets tore through his clothes. Sixty-three out of eighty-six officers and two-

thirds of the soldiers were killed or disabled. Washington led the wreck of the army back to the nearest refuge. Daniel Boone, a young woodsman from North Carolina, was among the fleeing wagon drivers.

Washington's Defense of the Frontier. — The French and their Indian allies now raided the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The French commander boasted that all these settlements were destroyed, adding that "the Indian villages are full of prisoners of every age. The enemy has lost more since the battle than on the day of his defeat."

PIONEER BLOCK-HOUSE IN THE MONONGAHELA COUNTRY

The loopholes for defense may be seen under the eaves

It was three years before another expedition was ready to start against Fort Duquesne. Washington did his best to defend the border, which was nearly 300 miles long. At the chief mountain passes he built block-houses, strengthened by stockades. His hardy followers were armed with home-made flint-lock muskets, and carried tomahawks and scalping knives in their belts. They had no regular army uniform, but wore buck-skin hunting shirts, leggings, and moccasins. Washington's skill in defending the "back door" of the colonies gave him a greater reputation than that of any other colonial officer.

The Acadians. — The English, in 1755, also made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge the French from Lake Champlain, where their presence threatened the settlements in the Hudson River region. Far to the northeast, in Nova Scotia, the English feared that the Acadians, who had remained in the country after the French gave it up in 1713, would revolt

and aid the French soldiers in reconquering it. Accordingly, they decided to "clear the whole country of such bad subjects." The English officers took lands and cattle, burned houses and barns, and scattered the Acadians among the English-speaking colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. A quarter of a century later a French traveler passing through Baltimore noticed that a fourth of its inhabitants were Acadians. The removal of the Acadians is the subject of Longfellow's poem *Evangeline*.

William Pitt

William Pitt. — In 1757 the English found a new leader in William Pitt, who was made prime minister. Under his inspiring influence no sacrifices seemed too great for the people of England or of the colonies. Colonial assemblies and parliament, colonial officers and British officers, worked together. The colonies raised their share of troops; the mother country had to provide only tents, arms, and ammunition. Pitt's boldness swept away all obstacles. He once said, "I am sure I can save this country and that nobody else can"; and he convinced people that he spoke the truth.

Capture of French Posts. — In 1758 Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, was captured and the fortress destroyed. Fort Frontenac, which guarded the route from the upper St. Lawrence into Lake Ontario, was also taken and destroyed. Another expedition, in which Washington had a share, crossed Pennsylvania to attack Fort Duquesne. The soldiers found only blackened ruins; the French garrison had blown up the fort and fled. The English named the cluster of traders' cabins Pittsburgh, in honor of the great leader in parliament.

The reason why the French abandoned Fort Duquesne was

the lack of troops to defend it. During the years from 1758 to 1762 the English captured nine-tenths of all the French ships of war, and France could send little help to the brave officers and soldiers who were fighting her battles in America. In consequence they lost a fortress far more important than either Louisburg or Fort Duquesne. This was Quebec, their oldest settlement.

Montcalm and Wolfe; Fall of Quebec, 1759. — The French commander at Quebec was the Marquis de Montcalm, the governor of New France. To increase his troops

QUEBEC IN 1759

he pressed into service boys of fifteen and men of eighty. Indians were called from far and wide. For the attack Pitt sent General James Wolfe. Both Montcalm and Wolfe were men of unusual ability. Montcalm had one advantage, the position of Quebec, which made it almost unassailable.

For nearly three months Wolfe watched before Quebec, trying to find a weak place in Montcalm's line of defense. Every attack that he made was easily repulsed. But Montcalm had posted most of his army to guard the more distant approaches, thinking the heights immediately above the city, rising in a wall from 250 to 350 feet, could be easily defended. He once said that a "hundred men posted there

would stop the whole English army." Wolfe discovered a zigzag path up the side about a mile and a half from the city. Volunteers attempted this path one dark night in September. They surprised the guards stationed at the top. By morning 4000 men were in possession of the heights, or Plains of Abraham, as they are commonly called.

Montcalm immediately advanced to the attack. The British did not fire until the French were within forty yards. The French first wavered, then fled, and Montcalm could not rally them. Both he and Wolfe were mortally wounded. Five days later Quebec surrendered. Only Montreal was now left in the hands of the French, and it surrendered the next year.

Close of War. — This practically closed the war in America, but the Seven Years' War in Europe dragged on three years longer. Before it was over Spain took the side of France and also suffered defeat, the English capturing Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippine Islands. In 1763 peace was made and France abandoned to England all her possessions east of the Mississippi River. Spain was obliged to give up Florida, a loss which the French tried to make good by giving to Spain New Orleans and all the French territory west of the Mississippi.

New English Colonies. — The English now had three new colonial provinces, Canada and East and West Florida. They intended to provide governments much like those of the other colonies. At first it was impossible to call together assemblies representing the inhabitants, and the provinces remained under control of military governors.

An Indian Territory. — The vast region north of the Floridas and reaching from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi River was reserved to the Indians. The English government intended to open it for settlement gradually. Meanwhile all persons who had settled there were warned to leave. In this action the government showed little respect for the claims of the different colonies under their charters. Colonists whose eyes had long been turned to the fertile valleys beyond the mountains would not be likely to obey the royal

proclamation, especially after the dangers of Indian attack were lessened.

Pontiac's War. — The western Indians were not willing to submit to English rule. When the English commander-in-chief showed no readiness to win their favor by presents, or even to allow trade with them to continue, they united under the leadership of Pontiac, a chief of the Pottawattamies, and attacked all the posts from Detroit to Niagara. With the exception of these two, all were taken and their garrisons massacred. The Indians of the Ohio Valley attacked the posts in western Pennsylvania and advanced into the central part of the colony. They finally realized that they could not drive the English away and gave up the struggle. The royal proclamation forbidding settlers to enter the region west of the Alleghenies was intended to quiet their fears and pave the way to friendly relations with them.

Pitt and the Rights of the Colonists. — At the close of the war the colonists rejoiced over the victory as much as the English at home. They were proud to belong to an empire so strong and great. But already something had happened which showed that their enthusiasm might be short-lived. Even while the war was raging, the northern colonies were reluctant to break off their trade with the French West Indies. Pitt was angry at the conduct of these colonial traders. He was told that the best way to stop such trade with the enemy was to enforce the Sugar Act. This he resolved to do, and the news caused a panic among the Boston merchants.

It was difficult to find smuggled goods unless the officers could break into storehouses and other places where they thought these goods were hidden. An old English maxim declared every man's house his castle, into which no officer could enter without a special warrant. For the purpose of searching for smuggled goods general warrants, called " writs of assistance," were used in England, and they had also been used in the colonies. In order to stop their issue the merchants resolved to appeal to the old legal maxim. Although they lost their case, James Otis, a young lawyer, awakened

the spirit of resistance by declaring boldly that the colonists had all the rights of Englishmen.

At the same time the Virginians were aroused by a new royal veto. Patrick Henry, another young lawyer, declared in court that this veto was an act of misrule so serious that the people would be justified in resistance.[1]

Success in the war with the French might quiet such disputes for a time, but they were certain to begin again unless the English government made its laws more fair to the colonists. Furthermore, disputes would endanger the hold of the government on the colonies, now that the expulsion of the French from Canada and the Mississippi country had partly freed the colonists from the need of British protection.

Questions

1. What class of English colonists had begun crossing the Appalachian barrier before 1750? What settlements had previously been made in the Illinois country? What colonies claimed western lands? Where did they obtain such claims?

2. What steps did the French take in 1749 toward occupying the Ohio country? What did the Virginians do? What was the best route from Virginia to the Ohio country?

3. What forts did the French build in order to hold the Ohio country? Why did Washington make a journey to one of these forts? What answer did the French commander give him?

4. What trouble caused the French and Indian War in America? Of what greater war did this French and Indian War become a part? What were the nations fighting about in Europe? How did the war in Europe affect the war in America? What advantage had England in the war in America?

5. Which side did the western Indians take? Why? Why was the Albany Congress held? What plan did Franklin present to the Congress? Why did not the colonies form a union?

6. Whom did England send to capture Fort Duquesne? Why was his expedition defeated? What happened during the next three years on the western frontier? What did Washington do during this time?

7. Who were the Acadians? What was done with them? What poem describes their fate?

[1] This was the famous "*Parson's Cause*," which arose from an attempt of the Virginians to pay the clergy in money during a scarcity of tobacco. See page 30.

8. Who became the English leader in 1757? What was the result of the change in leaders? What part did the colonies take in the French and Indian War?

9. How did the English finally manage to capture Fort Duquesne? What change was made in its name? Why did the English succeed so well in America after 1758?

10. Why was Quebec so hard to capture? Who commanded the French defense? Who led the English attack? How did Wolfe capture Quebec?

11. What colonies did England gain as a result of the Seven Years' War? What European country came into possession of Louisiana? Why did France give up Louisiana?

12. How did England decide to use the western territory gained during the war with France? What colonies also claimed these lands (see p. 122)? Why was it difficult for England to enforce the orders against settling in the West? Why did England wish to keep white settlers from the West?

13. What happened during the French and Indian War to offend the colonists and arouse them against the mother country? Why was the danger from this trouble all the greater now that France no longer held Canada?

BRITISH SOLDIER

Exercises

1. Locate on an outline map the Louisiana, the Illinois, and the Canadian settlements and the new forts on the Ohio frontier. Which claim to the Ohio country do you think was the better, the French or the English? Give reasons for your opinion.

2. Write a paper describing Washington's part in the French and Indian War.

Important Dates:

1749. The French and English take the first steps toward seizing the Ohio country.
1755. Braddock's expedition.
1759. The fall of Quebec.
1763. End of the French and Indian War, and the struggle of France and England for colonies in the New World.

CHAPTER XIII

WHY THE ENGLISH COLONISTS BECAME REVOLUTIONISTS

After the War. — Occasions of dispute between the colonies and the mother country were not likely to disappear with the end of the French and Indian War. Money was sorely needed. The public debt of Great Britain had been doubled in seven years. If the laws regulating colonial trade could be made to bring more revenue into the British treasury, they might now be enforced. New taxes would be necessary in England or America.

It was likely that the government would grasp the reins of colonial management more firmly. Three new colonies with a foreign population, besides a vast Indian territory, would require the presence of soldiers. The British fleet, which had covered itself with glory during the war, must do guard duty on many seas, for the British now ruled an empire. Conquests in India, as well as in America, gave the rulers of England a feeling of power and a sense of responsibility. Here was the danger. If, in making new plans for their many territories, they treated the colonists as subjects, rather than Englishmen with rights equal to their own, the triumph over France might be turned into a great disaster.

Grenville's Plan. — In 1763 George Grenville, a new prime minister, decided that 10,000 British troops must be kept in America and that the colonies should be required to pay at least a third of the expense. He planned to raise the money chiefly by a stamp tax. He planned also to enforce thoroughly the laws regulating trade, and to change the Sugar Act so that it would bring in revenue. Like many other Englishmen at the time, he forgot that the colonists had paid more than their share in the recent war and that they still had a part of their war debts to pay.

Grenville also did not take into account the fact that the taxes charged in English ports on goods sent to America were really paid by the colonial purchasers.[1] He and the other members of parliament represented chiefly English landholders and merchants. It was hardly fair that they should regulate colonial trade in such a way as to increase their profits, and at the same time try to shift the burden of taxation from their shoulders to those of the colonists. But they could not be expected to see this, believing, as they did, that the main use of colonies was to increase the riches of the mother country.

A Stamp of 1765

The king of England was George III, then at the beginning of his reign of sixty years. He was shrewd but narrowminded, and disliked the colonists because they were inclined to manage their own affairs. He heartily approved Grenville's plan. As many members of parliament were chosen through his influence, they voted as he wished. All through the troubles with America the "king's friends" were on the wrong side of nearly every question.

Stamp Act. — The new Sugar Act of 1764 did not excite the colonists as much as the news that parliament was to introduce a stamp tax. The colonists denied the right of parliament to tax them directly.[2] This right, they said, belonged to their own legislatures, where their representatives sat.

It was of little use for the English officers to reply that the colonists were as much represented in parliament as the people of Manchester or Birmingham or other cities in England. Such arguments did not convince the colonists.

[1] In the eighteenth century all countries collected export as well as import duties.

[2] In 1765 the colonists did not object so much to indirect taxes like those in the Sugar Act as to direct taxes like those in the Stamp Act. But after the repeal of the Stamp Act they became convinced that any tax levied by parliament, instead of by their own legislatures, was injurious to them.

They believed that a legislature which voted taxes must be chosen by the persons who paid the taxes. They declared that there should be "No taxation without representation." In England multitudes of tax-payers could not vote. If a town centuries before had not been big enough to send members to parliament, it could not now send members, however big it was. At the same time towns which once had received the right to send members and had grown small did not lose the right. If now the same lord owned all the property in a town or in three or four of them, he chose the members. Scores of members were in reality named by great lords or by the king. The colonists would not have endured a legislature like that. Their objection, however, was that parliament did not represent them in the sense in which they understood representation.

The Stamp Act was passed in 1765. It was modeled upon a statute then successfully enforced in England. Stamps varying in value from one cent to $50 must be placed upon every almanac, newspaper, pamphlet, marriage license, and college diploma, as well as upon a multitude of legal documents. Officials were to be appointed to sell the stamps.

Resistance to the Stamp Act. — Patrick Henry of Virginia and James Otis of Massachusetts were again the boldest advocates of colonial rights. Henry's resolutions against parliamentary taxation, passed in the Virginia assembly, were copied in colony after colony. Town meetings and county assemblies, ministers in their sermons, and newspapers in their editorials, joined in the effort to awaken the whole people.

A storm of declarations of rights, remonstrances, and petitions swept the country. The legislatures of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia protested against the Stamp Act. James Otis suggested a general Congress of delegates from the colonies. In October, 1765, representatives from nine met in the city hall at New York. Other colonies sent letters of sympathy. The Congress at New York, usually called the Stamp Act

Congress, decided to publish a statement of the colonial side of the controversy and to petition the king and parliament. Franklin's device, the wriggling snake with the motto, "Join or die," reappeared at the head of the newspapers. Such events showed that a spirit of union was growing rapidly. Long before the Congress met at New York, the people had decided the fate of the Stamp Act.

PATRICK HENRY
After the portrait by Sully in the State Library, Richmond

The merchants of the chief towns canceled their orders and refused to buy any more goods of British make until parliament should repeal the Stamp Act. Women bound themselves to wear nothing but homespun, and conducted spinning matches where they offered prizes for the fastest and best work. Many zealous patriots in Boston and Philadelphia circulated pledges to eat no lamb in order to increase the amount of wool. Secret societies, which called themselves Sons of Liberty, laid plans to destroy the stamps and drive the distributors from office. Posters or handbills on the doors or street-corners threatened all who tried to sell stamps or to use them. The Sons of Liberty of New York scattered broadcast a handbill which said, "The first man that either distributes or makes use of Stampt Paper let him take Care of His House, Person, and Effects." The Stamp Act was to go into effect on the first day of November, 1765. When the day arrived the stamp distributors had quietly resigned and no stamps could be found.

Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766. — The refusal to buy or use British-made goods or to trade with British merchants — a sort of boycott — accomplished all that the colonists hoped for. The merchants, manufacturers, and even the

artisans, in Great Britain soon began to suffer from the loss of colonial business. Parliament hesitated to drive the colonies into open rebellion and ruin its own merchants besides. In March, 1766, the famous Stamp Act was repealed.

The news of the repeal was received with rejoicing in England and America alike. Bells were rung and banquets were held in London as well as in the chief colonial towns. As

FUNERAL PROCESSION OF THE STAMP ACT

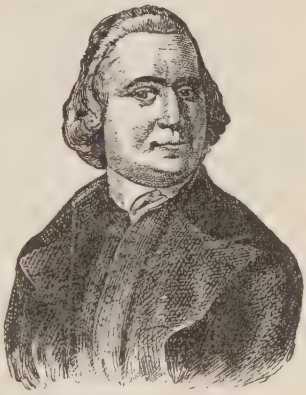
A mock burial of the Stamp Act. Grenville is the bearer of the coffin containing "Miss Americ Stamp, born, 1765, died 1766." The only mourners are members of the English government. From an old print.

Pitt had urged repeal, the colonists, forgetting his enforcement of the Sugar Act, displayed his portrait in shop windows. New York and South Carolina voted him a statue. Even the king, though opposed to repeal, enjoyed a brief popularity. The Philadelphia Quakers decided to celebrate his birthday by dressing in new suits of English make, giving their homespun clothing to the poor.

New difficulties soon arose over the Quartering Act, which required the colonies to furnish the royal troops stationed in the different places with lodgings, fuel, and food. The colonial leaders considered this a mere substitute for taxation. New York, Boston, and Charleston refused to comply.

The dispute with New York lasted three years. Its governor refused to allow the legislature to sit until the colony finally yielded and furnished the soldiers with quarters.

The Townshend Acts. — In 1767, barely a year after the repeal of the Stamp Act, parliament under the leadership of Charles Townshend passed other acts to raise money from America. The acts put taxes on glass, lead, paper, and tea shipped to the colonies. Besides these duties, the colonies were still paying, as required by the Sugar Act, taxes on sugar, molasses, coffee, wine, and indigo. Altogether the list was a long one, and the colonial leaders were convinced that parliament intended to establish a permanent system of taxation. They liked the law still less when they were told that the income from the new taxes would be used partly to pay the salaries of colonial governors and judges, who would thus be more independent of the colonial legislatures.



SAMUEL ADAMS
After Copley's portrait in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

Resistance to the Townshend Duties. — Samuel Adams, a citizen of Boston, like Otis, now revived the pledges against buying or using British-made goods. "We will form," he exclaimed, "an immediate and universal combination to eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing, imported from Great Britain." Washington wrote to his agent in London telling him not to send any articles taxed by parliament, for said he, "I have very heartily entered into an association not to import any article which now is, or hereafter shall be, taxed for this purpose until the said act or acts are repealed."

The senior class at Harvard College agreed, in 1768, to graduate "dressed altogether in the manufactures of the country." The students of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, followed their example the next year.

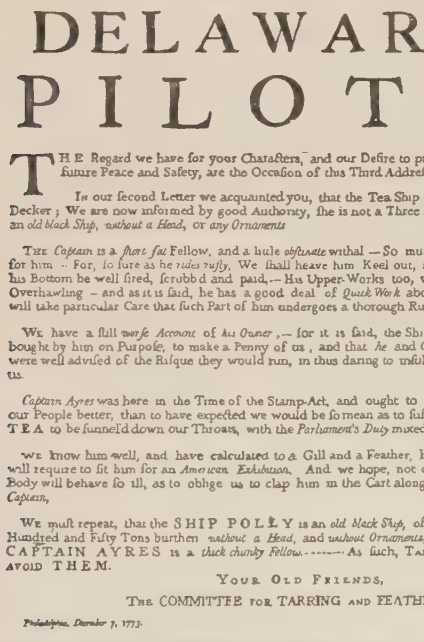
Some colonists resorted to violence in resisting the hated taxes. In New England towns, especially, mobs of town toughs on more than one occasion roughly handled merchants who ventured to import British goods. Conflicts between customs officers and mobs were frequent. Such acts of lawlessness went unpunished, for no jury could be found which would convict the guilty.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE
From an engraving by Paul Revere

Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770. — In 1768 two British regiments were sent to Boston, where attacks upon customs officers had been most serious. Benjamin Franklin had warned the king's advisers that if soldiers were sent to America to enforce taxation they would not find a rebellion but might make one. Their presence angered the citizens. The rougher men and boys lost no opportunity of insulting the soldiers. The wonder is that no serious clash took place for nearly two years. But on the evening of March 5, 1770, a mob began pelting a sentry in front of the custom house, and when several guards came to his rescue knocked one of them down. The soldiers thereupon fired into the crowd, killing five and wounding six. The colonists called the affray the "Bloody Massacre" or the "Boston Massacre."

Tax on Tea. — The pledges not to use British goods were so effective that within a year the colonial trade decreased nearly $4,000,000. Parliament yielded again and repealed

all duties provided for in the Townshend acts except a tax of six cents a pound on tea. It was thought that the colonists would not object to one small tax, and that they would become accustomed to paying taxes levied by parliament. This was another blunder, for the colonists objected to taxed tea as strongly as before. The women of Edenton, the



TO THE

DELAWARE PILOTS.

THE Regard we have for your Characters, and our Desire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Occaſion of this Third Addreſs to you

IN our ſecond Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker; We are now informed by good Authority, ſhe is not a Three Decker, but an *old black Ship, without a Head*, or *any Ornaments*

THE *Captain* is a *ſtout ſad* Fellow, and a hule *obſtinate* withal — So much the worſe for him — For, ſo ſure as he *rides ruſty*, We ſhall heave him Keel out, and ſee that his Bottom be well ſired, ſcrubb'd and paid.— His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling — and as it is ſaid, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that ſuch Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging

WE have a ſtill *worſe Account* of his *Owner*, — for it is ſaid, the Ship POLLY was bought by him on Purpoſe, to make a Penny of us, and that *he* and Captain *Ayres* were well adviſed of the Riſque they would run, in thus daring to inſult and abuſe us.

Captain Ayres was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be ſo mean as to ſuffer his *rotten* TEA to be ſunnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it.

WE know him well, and have calculated to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to ſit him for an *American Exhibition*. And we hope, not one of your Body will behave ſo ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the *Captain*,

WE muſt repeat, that the SHIP POLLY is an *old black Ship*, of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen *without a Head*, and *without Ornaments*,— and, that CAPTAIN AYRES is a *thick chunky Fellow*.——— As ſuch, TAKE CARE to AVOID THEM.

YOUR OLD FRIENDS,

THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING

Philadelphia, December 7, 1773.

HOW PHILADELPHIA CITIZENS PREVENTED THE LANDING OF TEA

Reduced facsimile

colonial capital of North Carolina, banded together to use no more of the "pernicious herb." Sassafras or raspberry tea, they said, was better than the bitterness in taxed tea.

Committees of Correspondence. — Many of the colonists were becoming weary of such constant strife. If the British government had not made new blunders every year or two, perhaps the spirit of resistance would have died out.

Meanwhile Samuel Adams and other Boston patriots organized Committees of Correspondence in the Massachusetts towns in order to keep the acts of the government constantly before the people. At this time some Rhode Islanders burned the British revenue vessel *Gaspee*, and the government tried to find them in order that they might be taken to England for trial. Such a threat aroused the Virginia assembly, and it proposed the formation of Committees of Correspondence between the colonies. In this way the machinery for organized resistance was being created.

Boston "Tea Party." — In 1773 parliament made a plan about the tea trade which aimed to accomplish three things — tempt the colonists to buy tea on which a tax was paid, put an end to colonial smuggling in tea,[1] and help the East India Company sell its tea. The company then had 17,000,000 pounds of tea in its warehouses. The plan was to permit the company to send a certain amount of tea to America without first selling it to the English merchants. Thus the price would be very low in the colonies because the merchant's profits would not be included. This would make the colonists forget about the tax. At the same time the smuggler would lose the business.

Several ships loaded with tea were sent to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The news aroused great indignation in the colonies. In Philadelphia and New York committees of citizens persuaded the captains of the ships to return to London without entering the harbors.

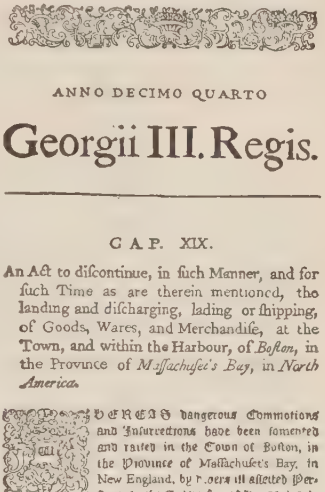
At Charleston the royal officers stored the tea in the cellars of the custom house. There it remained. No agent of the East India Company dared to pay the duty and offer it for sale. Three years later, when war had begun, South Carolina sold the tea to pay war expenses.

In Boston the royal officials were determined to land the tea. A great public meeting was held in the Old South

[1] At this time most of the tea used in the colonies was smuggled in. Colonial vessels regularly bought tea in the East Indies or in Holland and found ways of slipping it into the ports without paying the British tax.

Meeting House. The leaders failed to convince the governor that the ships must be sent away. Night having come on, the crowd rushed to the wharves. Forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships. By nine o'clock every chest of tea had been broken open and the contents thrown into the sea.

Punishment of Boston. — The royal government now attempted to punish Boston as an object lesson to all the colonies. The port was closed and the custom house removed to Salem until the citizens should pay the East India Company about $75,000, the value of the tea which had been destroyed. A little later the government of the colony was so changed that the colonists could not hold a town meeting without the governor's consent. Their juries also were selected by sheriffs appointed by the governor. These laws were called the "Intolerable Acts."[1] They excited the Massachusetts people so much that General Gage, the new governor, who had arrived with four more regiments, was obliged to fortify the narrow neck of land which connected Boston with the surrounding country.



ANNO DECIMO QUARTO

Georgii III. Regis.

CAP. XIX.

An Act to discontinue, in such Manner, and for such Time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping, of Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, at the Town, and within the Harbour, of *Boston*, in the Province of *Massachusets Bay*, in *North America*.

WHEREAS dangerous Commotions and Insurrections have been fomented and raised in the Town of Boston, in the Province of Massachusets Bay, in New England, by Persons ill affected to Government, and to the utter Destruction of the publick Peace, and good Order of the said Town; in which Commotions and Insurrections certain valuable Cargoes of Teas, being the Property of the East India Company, and on Board certain Vessels lying within the Bay of

60 Harbour,

First Page of the Boston Port Bill

Reduced facsimile

The distress of Boston, with its trade ruined, stirred the sympathy of the other colonies. Salem offered the free use

[1] In 1774 the colonists were also excited by the passage of the Quebec Act, for the government of that province; first, because the province was extended southward to the Ohio River, notwithstanding the land claims of the colonies on the coast, and second, because no provision was made for a provincial assembly representing the inhabitants.

of its wharves and warehouses to the Boston merchants. The towns of Massachusetts and other colonies sent supplies. Israel Putnam, a veteran of the French and Indian War, drove to Boston a flock of sheep from his Connecticut town. Washington headed a subscription in Fairfax County, Virginia, with a gift of $250, promising also to raise a thousand men, maintain them at his own expense, and march to the relief of Boston.

CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA, 1774
Where the first Continental Congress met

The Continental Congress, 1774. — Parliament and King George had counted on dealing with Massachusetts alone. Never was a graver mistake made. The other colonies declared that Boston was "suffering in the common cause." The members of the Virginia assembly, Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson among them, suggested that a general Congress, like the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, should be held. The Virginians sent their plan to the other colonies and invited Massachusetts to name the date and place. On September 5, 1774, the Congress met in the Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia. It was called the Continental Congress, and included delegates from twelve colonies.

The Continental Congress, like the Stamp Act Congress, drew up a declaration of the rights of the colonies and a statement of their grievances. Their list of grievances had grown much longer. The "Intolerable Acts" were called "unpolitic, unjust, and cruel." Two decisions of the Congress were particularly important. By the first the members

agreed to suspend all trade with Great Britain. No one was either to import or consume tea or any other British goods. After one year no American should sell or export his goods to England. Committees should be appointed in every county or town to see that the agreement was faithfully kept. By the second decision Congress, when it adjourned, proposed that a second Continental Congress should meet in May, 1775.

Two Parties in America. — Many colonists thought that resistance to the English government had gone too far. They believed that parliament in repealing the Stamp Act and most of the taxes in the Townshend acts had treated the colonies fairly. They also thought that the frequent attacks on the English officials, who tried to enforce the laws, justified measures like the Intolerable Acts. The merchants had grown tired of the steady loss of trade. Among the friends of Great Britain in the colonies were, of course, many office holders. All who sided with Great Britain were called loyalists or Tories. Their opponents called themselves patriots, and American historians have usually given this name to them. The English leaders had other names for them — demagogues and rebels.

Friends of America in England. — As the English officials found supporters in the Loyalists or Tories of America, so the patriots' party in America had defenders in England. Several distinguished members of Parliament, like William Pitt, Edmund Burke, and Charles James Fox, opposed every one of the measures to punish the colonists proposed by the "King's Friends." This they did not only because they took a friendly interest in the Americans, but also because they thought that such acts endangered the liberties of Englishmen everywhere, in England quite as much as in the colonies. The mayor and aldermen of London joined in their protests. Others started committees of correspondence in order to unite all friends of fair dealing. John Wesley, the famous founder of Methodism, warned the King's Friends of the unpopularity of their measures with the tradesmen and

yeomen and small manufacturers, the mill-hands and the colliers to whom he preached; and he said that these men only lacked a daring leader to break into open rebellion in England as their kindred had in America. But the defenders of the American cause were for a time outnumbered by those who supported the King's party. His followers had their way.

Questions

1. Why were the colonies and mother country more likely to have trouble after the French and Indian War?

2. What was Grenville's plan? Why was this unfair?

3. What was the main objection of the colonists to the Stamp Act? How were many members of parliament chosen? Who voted for members of the legislatures in the colonies?

4. How did the colonists prevent the enforcement of the Stamp Act? Who were their leaders in resisting it?

5. Why did parliament repeal the Stamp Act? What grounds of dispute still remained?

6. What taxes did Townshend add to those already in force? Why did the colonies dislike Townshend's acts even more than Grenville's?

7. What methods did the colonists use to resist Townshend's duties? Why did parliament send soldiers to Boston? What warning did Franklin give the king's advisers?

8. Why did parliament repeal most of the Townshend duties? What taxes did the colonists still have to pay? What method did Samuel Adams invent in order to inform the colonists about the acts of parliament? What addition did Virginia propose to his method?

9. What change did parliament make in 1773 with regard to tea? How did the colonists prevent the payment of the tea tax? How did parliament try to punish Boston?

10. What two decisions did the Continental Congress at Philadelphia form? How was the first decision or agreement to be enforced?

11. Did all American colonists agree with those leaders who resisted the acts of parliament? What names were given to those who sided with Great Britain? To those who supported the colonial resistance?

Important Dates:

1765. Parliament under Grenville's leadership passes the Stamp Act.
1767. Townshend places further taxes on the colonies.
1774. Meeting of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XIV

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

Preparations for War. — One of the consequences of the Intolerable Acts in 1774 was that the Massachusetts House of Representatives reorganized itself as a Provincial Congress. A committee of safety which it appointed began to prepare for armed resistance. All over New England companies of militia were formed and were drilled regularly. Every fourth man was pledged to take the field at a minute's notice and was called the "minute-man." Military stores were collected. Other colonies also appointed committees of safety and prepared for a struggle.

Early in September it looked as if war would begin at once. General Gage sent troops to seize 300 barrels of powder stored a few miles from Boston. The report spread that the soldiers had killed six colonists. Before it was disproved 40,000 men had seized their guns and started for Boston. A similar expedition in April, 1775, led to fighting.

Lexington and Concord. — General Gage wished to destroy the military stores which the colonists had collected at Concord, eighteen miles northwest of Boston. Every effort was made to keep the expedition a secret. It left Boston late at night on April 18, and marched by unfrequented paths until well on the way to Lexington and Concord. The Boston "patriots," among them Dr. Joseph Warren, heard of the plan early in the evening, and sent messengers to warn the colonists. Paul Revere was one of the messengers. Before leaving he asked a friend to hang two lanterns in the tower of the North Church as a signal to patriots in Charlestown that the British had started.

Revere and other messengers were soon riding madly through the country-side calling the villagers to arms. The

ringing of bells, the beating of drums, and the firing of guns told the British soldiers that the secret was out. They reached Lexington, twelve miles on their way to Concord, just as day was breaking. On the village green stood fifty or sixty minute-men. Resistance was out of the question and their leader ordered them to withdraw. But in the confusion a shot was fired, and soon the firing became general. The colonial militia retreated after eight of their number were killed and ten wounded. Only one or two of the British were wounded.

At Concord the British found few stores, because most of these had been hidden securely or removed to neighboring towns. They destroyed thirty or forty barrels of flour, spiked two or three cannon, and threw some cannon balls into a mill-pond. Meanwhile the minute-men were assembling rapidly on the hills about the town. A large body soon attacked and drove off the British soldiers who had been stationed at the North Bridge.

A Disastrous Retreat. — Fighting began in earnest about noon when the British started on their return march to Boston. From behind every hill, house, or stone wall the minute-men and farmers shot at the column of soldiers. The march was soon changed into a disorderly flight. Reënforcements from Boston met the British at Lexington. But so rapidly did the militia gather on the route that the whole body of British soldiers barely escaped capture. Panic-stricken and exhausted, they found refuge at nightfall under the guns of the British ships near Charlestown.

Meaning of Lexington and Concord. — The losses on both sides in this struggle were heavy, although the British losses were three times those of the colonists. The chances of a peaceful settlement of the controversy between parliament and the colonies were now slight. Blood had been shed and the fighting spirit was increased by the tales spread in England and the colonies. The colonists were told that the British had begun the battle and had destroyed property and maltreated families along their route. The English

heard that the wrongs were all on the other side. It was clear, at all events, that the colonial militia would fight to defend their rights. "I never believed," said a British officer sadly, "that they would have attacked the king's troops." Lexington and Concord were not riots like the "Boston Massacre," but the opening battles of a great revolution.

Siege of Boston. — The minute-men who had driven the British into Boston did not return home, but remained encamped in a great circle about the city. They meant that

THE BATTLE AT LEXINGTON, APRIL 19, 1775

After an engraving made by two Continental militia-men who were in the battle

General Gage should send no more expeditions to seize their stores. They soon determined to drive him out of Boston. Other companies of militia came in from towns too far away to have a share in the first day's fighting. John Stark, a veteran of the French wars, led the New Hampshire militia. Israel Putnam rode from Connecticut, one hundred miles, in eighteen hours, reaching the camp on the morning of April 21. He had left orders for his men to follow immediately.

Armies are not created in a day. Military leaders now believe that men must be taught many months before they can be called trained soldiers. At first, therefore, the minute-men at Cambridge and other towns around Boston

formed an armed crowd rather than an army. Each man had brought his own gun, with a small stock of powder and bullets. Few were in uniform, most of the men being dressed as they were when the alarm sounded. It was astonishing that they had assembled so rapidly. It seemed as if they had sprung out of the ground at the stamp of some great leader's foot. The "patriots," with their committees of correspondence, had made plans to meet just such an event as General Gage's ill-fated expedition.

Chamber of Supplies, Watertown, June 18, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Welfare of our Country again induces us to urge your exertions in fending to the Magazine in this place, what can be procured of the following Articles, Salt Pork, Beans, Peas, Vinegar and Blankets, the prizes whereof as well as the Carting shall be allowed according to the Custom of your Place which we desire you to certify—It is of the utmost Importance that the Army should be supplied agreeable to the Resolve of the Congress more especially with these Articles, the four first of which are necessary for the Subsistence as well as the Health of the Men, and the other for their Comfort—The occasion of the Deficiency in *Blankets* is mostly owing to a number of Men enlisted from Boston and other Towns which have been vacated, and they all must be procured immediately or our worthy Countrymen will suffer.—

As the Country affords every thing in plenty necessary to subsist the Army, and we cannot at present obtain many things but by your Assistance, we assure ourselves that you will act your parts as worthily as you have done and hope that the Event of all our exertions will be the Salvation of our Country.

To the Selectmen and Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Brookline

DAVID CHEEVER, per Order of Committee of Supplies.

CALL FOR FOOD AND BLANKETS JUNE 18, 1775

Second Continental Congress, May, 1775. — The Second Continental Congress met on May 10, 1775, in Philadelphia, at the Old State House. Thirteen colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia were represented. Nova Scotia, Quebec, and the Floridas held off. Their inhabitants had no interest in the cause which was bringing the other colonies together. How the conditions had changed since the first Congress met in September, eight months earlier! The delegates were assembled now, not to devise ways of compelling Great Britain to repeal the "intolerable" laws, but to manage a war which had actually begun. This was more serious business. Congress decided to make the cause of Massachusetts that of all the colonies. It promptly adopted the New England militia encamped around Boston as a "Continental" army. Steps were taken to raise other troops and find food and supplies for all. A delegate from Virginia, the foremost soldier in America, George Washington, was unanimously chosen commander-in-chief. Washington set out for Cambridge, the headquarters of the army,

on June 21. He had proceeded scarcely twenty miles from Philadelphia when a rider hurrying with messages to Congress gave him the news of another battle with the British.

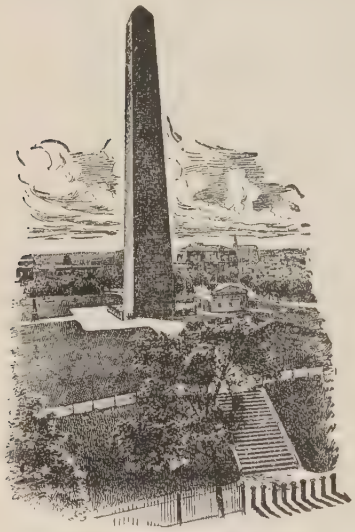
Bunker Hill, June 17. — Boston could not be attacked directly except by a narrow neck of land, called Boston Neck, which General Gage had covered with batteries. On the north and on the south, however, were two peninsulas, crowned by hills, which reached out toward the city. These

BOSTON, BUNKER HILL, AND CHARLESTOWN

hills were called Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights. Batteries placed on them could soon destroy Boston. To forestall such a danger General Gage decided to occupy them on June 18. The American leaders learned of the British plans and determined to act first. On the night of June 16 Colonel William Prescott with 1,200 men stole quietly along the neck of the northern peninsula and over Bunker Hill to Breed's Hill, which was somewhat lower but nearer Boston. His men could hear the regular monotonous cry of "All's well" uttered by sentinels on the ships in the

Charles River. Silently and rapidly, with pick and shovel, they threw up earthworks. Within these they constructed low platforms of earth or boards to enable them to fire across the top. The British could scarcely believe their eyes when morning dawned.

The British officers did not think that raw militia would resist a direct attack. They might have seized the neck of the peninsula and occupied Bunker Hill, which would have turned the tables on the colonial troops. But they decided to attack in front. Prescott, when he saw their red lines advancing up the hill, knowing that his men had few bayonets and only a small stock of powder, told his men to wait until they saw "the whites of their eyes," to "aim at the handsome coats," and to "pick off the commanders." At the first fire whole lines of British went down, and their comrades fell back in disorder. Again they advanced in the face of a murderous fire, and again they fell back, leaving the ground covered with dead and wounded. General Howe, who was in command, ordered a third attack. Suddenly the firing from the redoubt slackened and ceased. The powder of the colonial soldiers was used up. They had nothing left save the butts of their muskets and stones. The consequence was that the British soon drove them back across Bunker Hill and out of the peninsula. The British paid dearly for their victory, losing over a thousand men in killed and wounded. No wonder one of the colonial officers remarked that they would like to sell another hill at the same price!



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

Making an Army. — Washington arrived at Cambridge on July 2, about two weeks after the battle, and took command of the army the following day. His first task was to begin the soldierly training of the bands of farmers and mechanics which made up the revolutionary force. He must also procure powder, bullets, and cannon. Many cannon and a large amount of powder had already been seized by Ethan Allen and a band of "Green Mountain Boys" at Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. The cannon could not be brought to Cambridge until the snows of the next winter made it easy to haul them. Other needed supplies were obtained by the capture of a British storeship as it was nearing Boston. Washington showed great patience and tact, as well as firmness, in the tedious work of preparing the army for war.

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN 1775
After the portrait by Peale

Among the soldiers were many Irish, Scotch-Irish, and German immigrants.[1] Whole companies, especially in Pennsylvania, contained few or no English colonists. Some of the soldiers had seen service in European armies, others in the recent war with the French

[1] By the Revolution the thirteen colonies ceased to be dependencies of England. They became instead parts of a new nation formed in North America. From this time the people leaving Europe for America are thought of, not so much as emigrants from Europe and subjects of a European kingdom, but as immigrants into the United States and members of the Republic. For this reason the words "immigrant" and "immigration" will now be used where "emigrant" and "emigration" have been used.

and Indians. Many of the farmers, accustomed to life on the frontier or to hunting, readily learned the lessons of warfare.

While Washington was busy with his task at Cambridge, an attempt was made to invade Canada and seize Quebec. The colonial troops reached Quebec but failed to capture it. Their attempt had one important consequence: it alarmed the British government so much that the army brought together to subdue the rebellious colonists was divided and a part sent to Canada. This lessened the number of troops which Washington had to deal with directly.

Flag of the United Colonies in 1775–1777

General Howe, who had taken the place of General Gage, made no attempt to attack Washington's camps about Boston; on the contrary, he was planning to withdraw. Washington did not complete his preparations until winter had come and almost gone. On the night of March 4, 1776, he made a move similar to the seizure of Bunker Hill. His soldiers occupied Dorchester Heights and built two redoubts. General Howe remarked, when morning came and he saw the forts through his glass, "The rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." The British admiral said, "If they retain possession of the heights I cannot keep a ship in the harbor." Howe decided at once that he must either storm forts far stronger than Prescott's defences on Bunker Hill or withdraw from Boston. He chose the latter course, and on March 17 the British fleet, with his army aboard, left the city, bound for Halifax.

Boston after the Siege. — Nearly a thousand inhabitants of Boston left with the British. Among them were the former officials of the king in the colony and many of the older families, who formed the aristocracy of the town. They went into voluntary exile because they sympathized with the British cause.

Boston's direct experience with war was over. The inhabitants had suffered hardships from famine and disease. Charlestown, a neighboring town, burned during the battle of Bunker Hill, was still a scene of utter desolation. The people bravely went to work to make Boston secure against another British invasion. Every able-bodied man gave two days each week toward rebuilding the fort in the harbor and strengthening the other defenses. In a few days Washington, with the main body of his army, departed for New York, which he thought the British would soon attempt to seize. The capture of Boston was Washington's first victory.

First Flag of the United States
Adopted by Congress in 1777

Questions

1. In what ways did the colonists prepare for war with the mother country?

2. Why did the British commander at Boston send an expedition to Concord? Why was it harder after this to make a peaceful settlement?

3. How could the patriots so quickly gather a body of men for the siege of Boston? Why is this body of men called "an armed crowd" rather than an army?

4. What colonies sent representatives to the Second Continental Congress? Why did others send none? What was the difference between the work of the First Continental Congress and the Second?

5. Why did the colonists occupy a position near Bunker Hill?

6. How did Washington secure additional materials of war? What important result came from the attempt to seize Quebec?

7. How did Washington finally drive the British army out of Boston? What inhabitants of Boston sided with the mother country and went into exile?

Exercise

1. Locate on an outline map of Boston and the vicinity all places mentioned in this chapter, and tell what happened at each.

Important Dates:

April 19, 1775. Battles of Lexington and Concord.
May 10, 1775. The Second Continental Congress meets.
June 17, 1775. The Battle of Bunker Hill.
March 17, 1776. General Gage abandons Boston.

CHAPTER XV

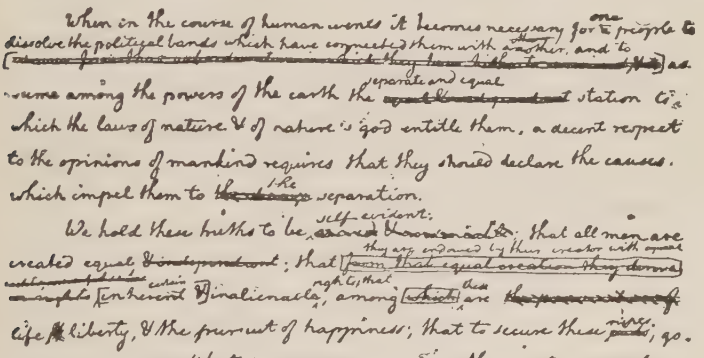
THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION

Great Britain and the Colonial Rebellion. — Washington's success in driving the British army from Boston did not convince either parliament or King George that the time had come for conciliatory measures. It made them only more anxious to put forth every effort to subdue the rebellious colonists. They had already refused to reply to a petition of the Continental Congress for a friendly settlement of the difficulties. They had also made the blunder of hiring German soldiers to swell the numbers of their army, forgetting the fact that a little over a hundred years before the attempt to use foreign soldiers to subdue Englishmen had cost Charles I and his principal minister their heads. Parliament also passed an act cutting off the colonies from all trade while the " rebellion " lasted.

Thinking about Separation. — The colonists had begun to think that there was little hope of fair treatment from parliament and king. At first only a few leaders like Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Patrick Henry thought it useless to expect parliament to change its manner of dealing. Most of the colonists would have been glad to return to friendly relations with the mother country. Washington, when on his way to Cambridge in 1775, had promised the members of the New York provincial congress that he would work toward that end. As the winter passed with no better news from England, feeling changed. The colonists asked one another why, if they could not govern themselves *in* the British empire, they should not try to govern themselves *out* of it? If they must fight, why not fight for independence?

Paine's Common Sense. — Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had recently settled in Philadelphia, published a remarkable pamphlet early in 1776. He called it *Common Sense.*

Many of the colonists held kings in reverence, believing that George III was their God-given ruler. Paine ridiculed such ideas. He bluntly called kings "sceptred savages" and "royal brutes." "Of more worth," he declared, "is one honest man to society . . . than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." Monarchy instead of being the best form of government was, he said, the worst. And how absurd, he wrote, "to be always running three or four thousands miles with . . . a petition, waiting four or five months for an



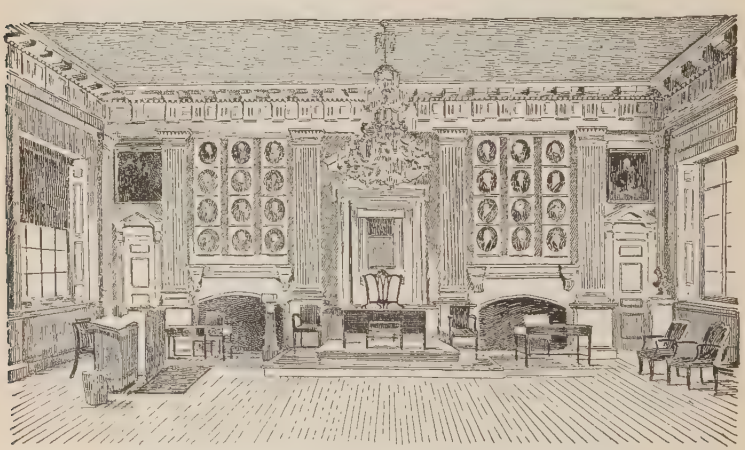
FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In the writing of Jefferson

answer," "or to suppose that a continent should be governed by an island." "The blood of the slain," he added, "cries, 'Tis time to part.'" Much that Paine wrote was so simple, so convincing, such "common sense," that thousands read it and concluded that separation was necessary.

The Declaration of Independence. — The colonies one by one advised their delegates in Congress to work for independence. Finally, on July 2, 1776, Congress voted "that these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states; . . . that all political connection be-

tween them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Two days later, July 4, Congress adopted a formal Declaration of Independence, which Thomas Jefferson had written, announcing to the world the new purpose of the colonies. It stated the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which the colonists had claimed for themselves all along, and added a startling list of charges against the king. These were given as the reason for seeking independence. Perhaps some of the



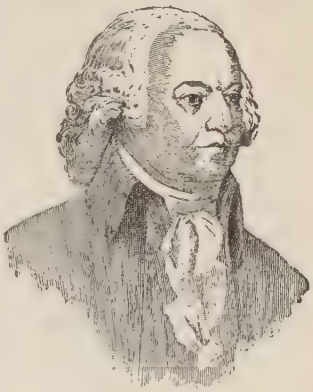
Room in which the Declaration was Signed

charges were not fair, for Jefferson was making a plea, and not writing a history. Most of them, however, were true.

The Royalists or Tories. — About one-third of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies opposed separation from Great Britain. In New York and Pennsylvania the loyalists and patriots were about equally divided. The Quakers were opposed to war for any purpose. Many loyalists declared that if the colonies should win their independence from Great Britain, they would only fall victims to discord and desolation. The loyalists thought the patriot leaders self-seeking lawyers and shop-keepers, or debtors who wished to escape paying their British creditors.

SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Making New Governments. — The decision to separate from Great Britain compelled the colonists to remodel their provincial governments. Each colony now became a "state." The royal governors and other officers had already fled to England or taken refuge with the nearest British garrisons or fleets. William Franklin, the royalist governor of New Jersey, though the son of Benjamin Franklin, had been seized by the revolutionists and sent to a Connecticut prison. Not only must the vacant offices be filled, but the governments must be changed in part. John Adams said that the manufacture of governments was as much talked of as saltpeter had been at the outbreak of war when powder was needed.



JOHN ADAMS
After the portrait by Copley

The only governments which required little change were those of Connecticut and Rhode Island. There the people had been permitted by the colonial charters to choose their officers, including their governors. The local government in town and county was left undisturbed.

Colonial Constitutions. — In the other colonies the new form or frame of government was set forth in a document called a constitution. This was decided upon in a congress or convention of delegates representing the colony. In some cases it was referred to the voters themselves. The first plan of a constitution in Massachusetts was rejected by the voters five to one. Each constitution explained not only what the officers could do, but what they could not do. The colonists had learned, either from bitter experience with their English officers, or from their reading of European history, to distrust officials. Bills or lists of rights which the people claimed and which their officers must respect

were inserted in each constitution. Many of these rights Englishmen had claimed as far back as the time of the Magna Charta. Others, far-sighted Englishmen and Europeans had only begun to claim in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The principal ones were "Trial by Jury," "No Taxation without Representation," "Freedom of the Press," "Freedom of Elections," and the "Right of Assembly and Petition."

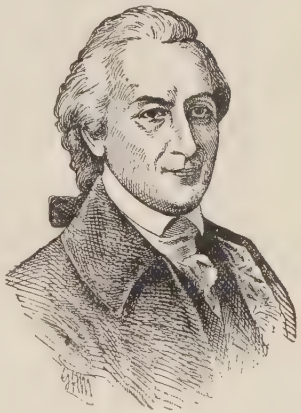
Governors and Legislators. — Governors chosen by the people, or by their legislatures, took the place of royal governors. The colonists, fearing "one-man" power, were careful not to give their governors much authority. Most of the powers which the royal governors had exercised were now given to the legislatures. The legislators were elected for only one or two years, to keep any of them from becoming overbearing or tyrannical through long enjoyment of office. Besides, the constitution-makers scattered the various powers among the law-makers, the governors, and the judges in such a way that one set of officials might act as a check upon another.

Great care was taken to break away from many old-world customs. No kings, no nobles, no class with special privileges because of birth, such as existed almost everywhere in Europe, were permitted by any of the American constitutions. When some one in Virginia urged that the eldest son ought, at least, to have a double share of his father's estate, Jefferson replied, "Not until he can eat a double allowance of food and do a double allowance of work." [1]

The work of making these constitutions interested not only the colonists but many Europeans, especially thoughtful Frenchmen. Twice during the war, first in 1778 and again in 1781, collections of the constitutions were translated into French and published in Paris. The second collection was translated by a nobleman at the request of Benjamin Franklin.

[1] Before the Revolution the eldest son in Virginia, as in Great Britain, inherited the larger share of the father's estate.

The First Union of the States. — To Congress belonged the harder task of making a frame of government which should bind the states together. Unlike the state conventions it could not simply remodel a government with which all were familiar. Although it began its work in June, 1776, it was not until the close of the following year that Congress agreed upon a constitution, called the "Articles of Confederation." One difficulty was the jealousy which the delegates from some of the states felt of the influence which other states appeared to have. This partly accounted for the long delay of the states in accepting the "Articles," which went into force in 1781. They did not give the government much power. The "United States" was still little more than a name. The powers which the states consented to give the government of the Confederation were exercised by a Congress similar to the Continental Congress. The delegates had such a horror of kings that they did not even provide for a president.



JOHN DICKINSON
After Peale's portrait in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

The formation of these new governments marks an epoch in the history of the world. The rights of the people were more carefully guarded than by any other governments that had ever existed. The work which John Adams, John Dickinson, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, and other leaders did in the Continental Congress and in the state conventions was as important as the work of Washington's army in the field. Among the ablest was John Adams. No man had more good ideas on constitution making. No one worked harder for the common good. He was busy from four o'clock in the morn-

ing until ten at night, and earned the title of the "Statesman of the Revolution."

Chances of Success. — The colonists had two very different tasks. It was one thing to make over their colonial governments and suit them to new conditions. It was another to win their independence on the battle field. More than once as the Revolutionary War went on the chances of final success seemed against the colonists. The mother country had nearly all the advantages. She possessed a strong war fleet. Her army, though small, was well trained. Her government owed a great deal of money, but had no difficulty in borrowing more, because it always paid its debts.

The course of the war was influenced by the geographical situation, which gave the colonists one great advantage. This was their distance from England. In those days the voyage across the ocean took about six weeks, sometimes more than twice as long. Often an entire season passed before England could send needed supplies or reënforcements to her armies. Furthermore, the colonies were stretched out in a straggling line over 1,300 miles between the sea and the mountains. The mountain barriers offered them a safe retreat in case their armies were hard pressed. This was another advantage.

For the British, the sea was naturally the base of operations, that is, the place from which all expeditions started. On the sea they could assemble at any time a fleet of war ships and transports strong enough to carry the army anywhere up and down the long coast. If their army marching inland was defeated or seriously threatened, it could hastily return to the coast, reorganize, and start again. By such waterways as Chesapeake Bay and the Hudson River their ships could go far into the interior. The Hudson and Champlain valleys together almost made a highway from New York to Canada, where the colonists had not risen in revolt. These valleys also separated one group of colonies from another.

Capture of New York. — New York, lying at the gateway of the Hudson and possessing an excellent harbor, was

marked by nature as the place which a sea-power like Great Britain would attempt to seize. If captured, it would become the center from which to carry on the work of subduing the rebellious colonists. Before General Howe's reënforcements reached him at Halifax and he was ready to sail to New York, an attempt was made by the British to gain a foothold at Charleston, South Carolina, near the southern end of the colonial line. The attack was beaten off. In August, 1776, Howe appeared before New York. His army was larger, better equipped, and better disciplined than Washington's army. In a series of battles beginning on Brooklyn Heights and ending at Fort Washington, at the northern end of Manhattan Island, the colonial army was defeated and forced to retreat into New Jersey.

Washington finally took refuge behind the Delaware River. As winter came on his army, half-starved and scantily clothed, dwindled away. Only about 6,000 disheartened soldiers remained. Alarmed at the approach of the British, Congress withdrew from Philadelphia to Baltimore. Many of the Philadelphians hid their money and silver and sent their families into the country. Their fears were needless, for General Howe, on December 13, ordered his army into winter quarters in different New Jersey towns. He went back to New York to spend the holidays among loyalist friends. Some of the British thought that the war was over and began to talk of returning to England.

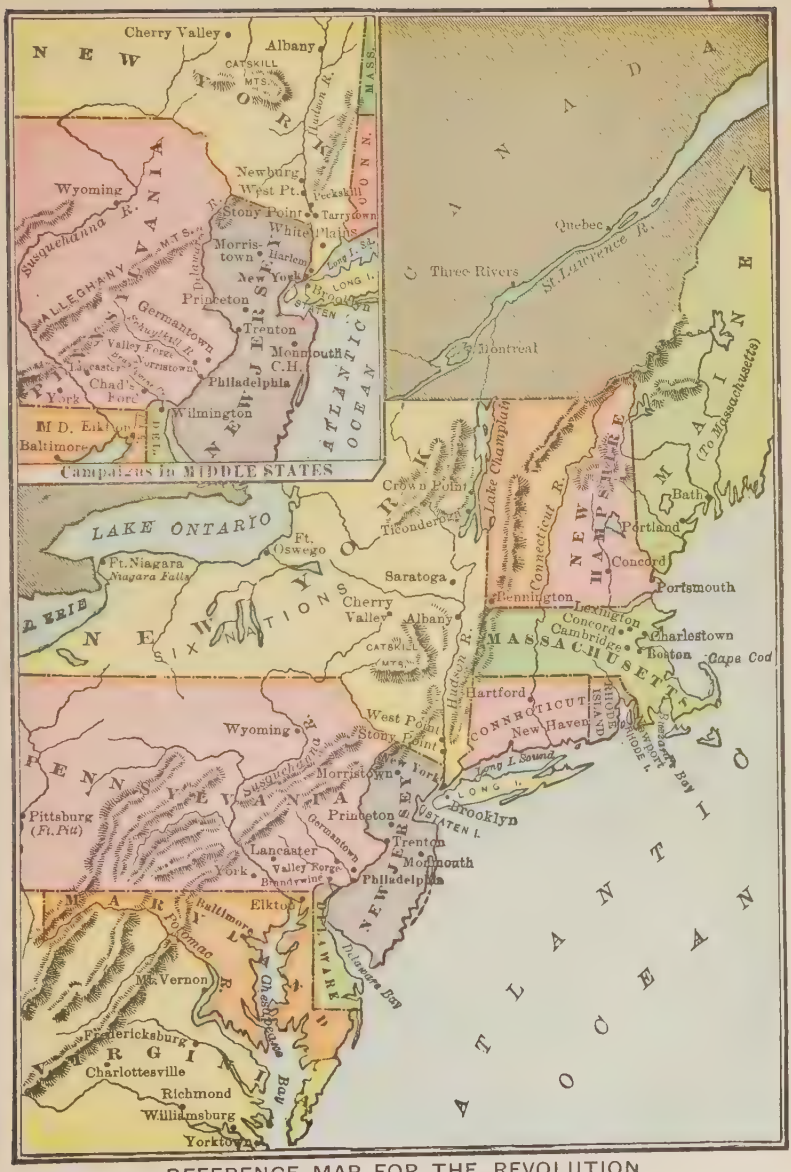
Washington's Victory at Trenton. — A part of Howe's army was stationed at Trenton. It was made up of Germans, hired of their prince, the ruler of Hesse-Cassel, for $36 apiece. Washington formed a plan to capture them. He crossed the Delaware eight or nine miles above Trenton on Christmas night. The passage was difficult and dangerous because of the ice, and a part of his troops did not succeed in crossing at all. After they reached the eastern bank the soldiers marched on in the blinding storm. "The snow," writes one, "was tinged here and there with blood from the feet of the men who wore broken shoes." In the early morning

Trenton was surrendered, and about one thousand Hessians were taken prisoners. Not an American was killed. It was a victory which put new courage into the army and raised the hopes of the colonists again.

Princeton. — Washington gave the British another surprise a week later. Alarmed by the capture of the Hessians, Howe ordered General Cornwallis to unite the different bodies of troops. Meanwhile Washington, who had first returned to Philadelphia with his prisoners, had crossed the Delaware again. On January 2 Cornwallis thought that he had caught Washington with his back to the river, which it was impossible to recross in the presence of a hostile army. Cornwallis exclaimed, "At last we have run down the old fox, and we will bag him in the morning." Instead, Washington, leaving his campfires burning to deceive the British, marched around their lines toward Princeton. At Princeton he put to flight three regiments of British on their way to join Cornwallis, and took many prisoners.

At daybreak Cornwallis faced an empty camp, while the booming of cannon in the direction of Princeton revealed to him the game that the "old fox" had played. Washington marched to the hills about Morristown, and the British concluded that it was wise to withdraw toward the Hudson. Few events have had a greater influence than the small battles at Trenton and Princeton. No one, in America or Europe, any longer doubted the skill and courage of the commander who could accomplish such wonders with a broken army.

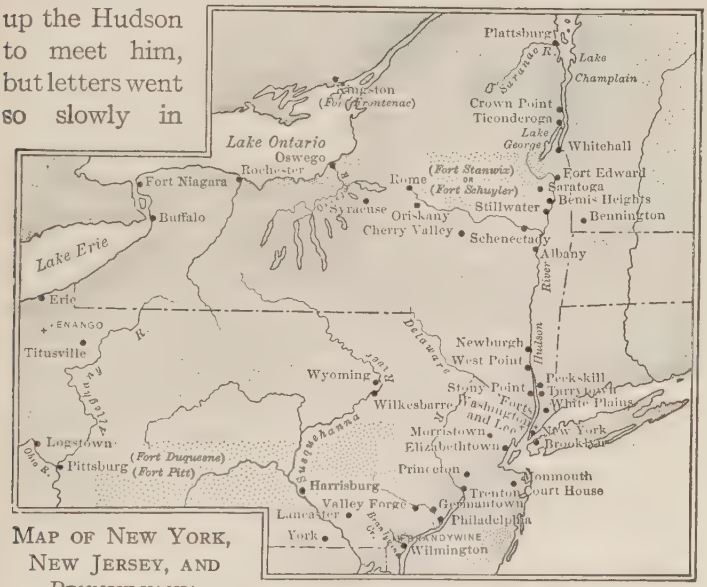
The Campaign of 1777. — General Howe had large plans for 1777. If the government gave him the reënforcements for which he asked, he would have 35,000 soldiers. These would be enough for two important expeditions. One would march toward Boston from Newport, in Rhode Island, which had been seized the fall before. The other would march upon Philadelphia, and, perhaps, after taking that, enter Virginia. But the government could not furnish the troops. The best it could do was to give him 8,000 of the soldiers who had been sent to Canada after the colonists had attacked



REFERENCE MAP FOR THE REVOLUTION
NORTHERN AND MIDDLE STATES

Quebec. The safest way would have been to transport them by sea, but the government feared that the colonists would take advantage of their absence to make another attack on Canada. It was decided, therefore, that they should attempt to reach New York by the Champlain, Hudson, and Mohawk valleys.

Burgoyne's Expedition. — The expedition from Canada was led by Sir John Burgoyne. He expected General Howe to send a force up the Hudson to meet him, but letters went so slowly in



MAP OF NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, AND PENNSYLVANIA

those days that before General Howe learned of the government's final plans he had left New York by sea, and was nearing the head of Chesapeake Bay, from which he intended to march on Philadelphia. He could not now turn back, and so Burgoyne was left to carry out the other plan alone.

Burgoyne set out in June, 1777. He advanced by Lake Champlain, and easily took Ticonderoga, the frontier fortress of northern New York. All went well until August, when the army began to cross the portage from Lake George to

the Hudson River. General Schuyler, who commanded the colonial forces in New York, blocked the roads in every direction with fallen trees; he choked the rivers with earth and trees until they were impassable for boats with supplies; and he drove off the sheep and cattle. All food was destroyed or carted away.

A British army, made up partly of Canadians, loyalists, and Indians, tried to join Burgoyne by way of the Mohawk Valley, but the German settlers drove it back with the help of a force under Benedict Arnold that had been sent by the colonial army. Another force of 1,000 men Burgoyne, in desperate need of supplies, sent to Bennington, Vermont. This army was almost totally destroyed by John Stark's New Hampshire minute-men and their neighbors, the "Green Mountain Boys."

On October 17, 1777, near Saratoga, Burgoyne surrendered, though not until he had made several desperate efforts to fight his way out of the trap. His army, of which 6,000 men remained, half of them Germans, became prisoners. All sorts of supplies also fell into the hands of the colonial troops. The capture of an entire British army filled the colonists with enthusiastic hopes. It encouraged the enemies of Great Britain in Europe. The credit of the victory belonged to General Schuyler, but it was given to General Gates, whom Congress had placed in command before the campaign ended.

Capture of Philadelphia. — Meanwhile General Howe had succeeded in his campaign against Philadelphia. He had begun his march from the head of Chesapeake Bay about the first of September. Washington attempted to check him at Brandywine Creek, but was badly defeated. Yet he afterward managed his army so well that it took Howe two weeks to march the last twenty-six miles. Philadelphia was occupied September 26. It was now too late to go to Burgoyne's relief. In 1777 the British took a city and lost an army.

Questions

1. What did the colonists think in 1775 about separation from England? What things changed their minds by 1776?

2. Who wrote the Declaration of Independence? What did it say? Who opposed independence, and why?

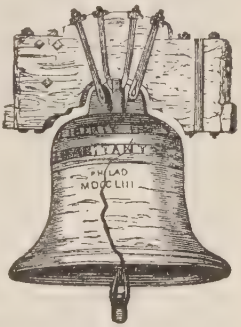
3. Why did the colonists have to make over their governments? Why did the people of Connecticut and Rhode Island need to make fewer changes in government?

4. What did the colonists put in their constitutions? Why did they take many powers away from their governors and give them to the legislatures? Why did they fix short terms for their legislators? What old-world customs did they keep out?

5. Why was the task of Congress in making a frame of government harder than that of the states? Why did the delegates in Congress give the new government of the "United States" so little power? Why did they not provide for a president?

6. What advantages did the British have in the Revolution? What two advantages were on the side of the colonists?

7. What region did the British seize before the end of 1776 which made up for the loss of Boston in March? Why were the small battles of Trenton and Princeton of great importance to the colonists?



THE LIBERTY BELL
In Independence Hall, Philadelphia

8. What was General Howe's plan for 1777? Why was General Burgoyne sent from Canada to New York? Why was he sent by the Champlain-Hudson route?

9. Why did not General Howe help Burgoyne more? How was Burgoyne captured?

10. What had the British gained in 1777? What had they lost?

Exercises

1. Make a list of the arguments that leaders like John Adams and Thomas Paine gave for complete separation from Great Britain, and another list of the arguments that the loyalists used against the step.

2. Find out from one who knows whether the frame of government of the states today resembles that made during the Revolution, and in what way it differs.

3. Make out a list of the gains of each side during the years 1775, 1776, and 1777.

Important Dates:

1776. July 4. The Declaration of Independence.
1776. December 26. The Battle of Trenton.
1777. September 26. Howe enters Philadelphia.
1777. October 17. The surrender of General Burgoyne.

CHAPTER XVI

LIFE IN WAR TIME

What the War did not do. — The Revolutionary War lasted seven years and yet few regions in the colonies saw an army of either friend or foe. The march to Concord or to Bennington was the longest expedition the British made in New England. They ravaged one or two Connecticut towns, burned Falmouth, Maine, and occupied Newport, and that was all the New Englanders saw of them after Boston was abandoned.

Until 1780 life on the Virginia plantations went on as usual, except that it was harder to market tobacco. The same is true of the colonies farther south. New Jersey and the Hudson River Valley suffered most. Even there the mischief was commonly done by bands of patriots or of loyalists determined to bring destruction upon one another. The presence of the British army did not always mean ruin to a neighborhood, for the officers frequently paid the farmers in gold and silver for the meat, flour, and vegetables which they brought into camp. While General Howe's army was quartered in Philadelphia the farmers of eastern Pennsylvania had no trouble in selling their produce at good prices.

By His EXCELLENCY
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire,
GENERAL and COMMANDER in CHIEF of the Forces of the United States of America.

BY Virtue of the Power and Direction to Me especially given, I hereby enjoin and require all Perſons reſiding within ſeventy Miles of my Head Quarters to threſh one Half of their Grain by the 1ſt Day of February, and the other Half by the 1ſt Day of March next enſuing, on Pain, in Caſe of Failure, of having all that ſhall remain in Sheaves after the Period above mentioned, ſeized by the Commiſſaries and Quarter-Maſters of the Army, and paid for as Straw.

GIVEN *under my Hand, at Head Quarters, near the Valley Forge, in Philadelphia County, this 20th Day of December*, 1777.

G. WASHINGTON.

By His Excellency's Command,
ROBERT H. HARRISON, Sec'y.

LANCASTER: Printed by JOHN DUNLAP.

WASHINGTON'S ORDERS TO THE FARMERS LIVING NEAR VALLEY FORGE

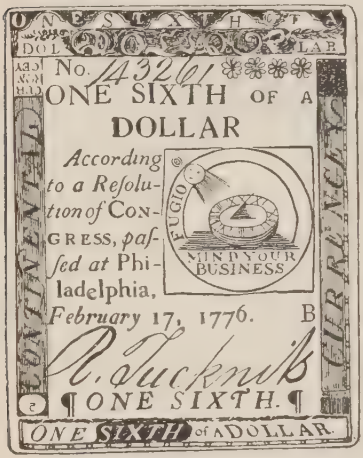
Army Supplies. — The armies were likely to suffer for food as soon as they moved far from the waterways. The country was thinly settled and little food could be found in any one region. The roads were poor and there were few wagons. In 1778 a cargo of clothing, sorely needed by the colonial soldiers, reached a port in North Carolina, but it was necessary to send to Pennsylvania for wagons. The next year Philadelphia had more flour than it could sell, while Washington's soldiers in eastern New Jersey and on the Hudson were starving. One difficulty was that the officers whom Congress put in charge of supplies did not understand how to manage the matter.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE

Valley Forge. — This partly accounts for the sufferings of Washington's army while Howe occupied Philadelphia. Washington's camp was at Valley Forge, a village twenty-five miles northwest of the city. The soldiers lived in huts such as frontiersmen usually built, but they were in want of blankets, clothing, shoes, and even food. About Christmas Washington wrote to Congress that 2,898 men were unfit for duty because of lack of clothing. Many whose shoes had worn out cut blankets into strips and wound these around their feet. Sometimes the only food they had was dough baked in their fireplaces. Washington was surprised that his soldiers did not all abandon him. Indeed 2,300 did desert and joined the British army in Philadelphia, where they were sure of food. Others went home. At the close of the winter only 5,000 remained.

Paper Money. — One reason why General Howe could obtain plenty of food for his army, while Washington's sol-

diers were on the verge of starvation, was that the British could pay in gold and silver. Washington was not so fortunate. Congress could not raise enough money by taxation and tried to pay expenses with paper money, as the colonies had done many times before. The states also issued paper money. This money sometimes lost a tenth of its value in a single month. Prices as a result rose rapidly. In 1781 a



Face

Back

PAPER MONEY OF THE REVOLUTION

Reduced facsimile

pair of shoes cost $100 in paper money, a bushel of potatoes $24, a bushel of corn $40, and a cow $1,200. It is not surprising that the Pennsylvania farmers were ready to exchange their products for British gold.

Industries during the War. — The demand for hats, cloths, and steel increased because trade with Europe was either cut off or was carried on with difficulty. Most people dressed in homespun, as they had done in the earlier time. Makers of guns, saddles, and powder were kept busy. Towns like Springfield, Massachusetts, and Waterbury, Connecticut, became famous for gun making. At the Principio Iron Works in Maryland cannon balls were cast for the Continental army. It

was very difficult to obtain enough salt, since the supply from Europe was interrupted. The salt wells near Syracuse, New York, were known, but salt from them was not marketed until several years later. Under the circumstances it was necessary to evaporate sea water. For this purpose tanks were constructed at New Bedford and on Cape Cod.

Women's Work. — In war work the women naturally took a large share. Since workshops were in the home few knew how often the women took the place of the absent men. They turned with one accord to the production of enough cloth to supply all needs of the country. They knitted and sewed for their families and for the army. Those who lived at the time tell how the farmer's wives and daughters did the heavy work of the field also that there might be food. Women's committees went from house to house to raise money to buy comforts for the soldiers. An old history of the Revolution says the American women "had not earrings and bracelets to give in imitation of the Roman ladies on a like occasion, but they presented gold and silver and what share of the paper money had come into their hands." They wore their old dresses; they went without luxuries. When the doctors at the army hospitals called for lint and dry herbs "for baths and fomentations . . . particularly balm, hyssop, wormwood and mallows" the women supplied their wants. They responded, too, to the call for nurses. Elizabeth Jackson's three sons joined the army when the war came to the frontier of the Carolinas. The two elder sons were killed. The youngest, Andrew, then only 13 years of age, was taken prisoner. The father had died before the Revolution. The mother now left alone joined a heroic band of women who went to nurse Americans on British prison ships in Charleston Harbor. She was stricken with prison fever and died.

Sufferings of the Loyalists. — The Revolution was a civil war for two reasons. In the first place, English colonists were fighting against Englishmen from the mother country. In the second place, the colonists were fighting against one another. Before the war was ended nearly 50,000 colonists

served on the British side either as militia or as regular soldiers. Some in small bands, especially in South Carolina and Georgia, waged war with their neighbors. Such bands, whether of loyalists or patriots, were more cruel than the regular troops of either side.

In the end the loyalists lost nearly everything they owned. Their lands were seized by the states and commonly used to reward the Continental soldiers. In many regions they were fortunate if they escaped being tarred and feathered.

TORY REFUGEES ON THEIR WAY TO CANADA

Hunted by their neighbors thousands sought refuge in Canada, taking with them only a small store of clothing and household articles

Exiles in Canada.—Many of the loyalists were driven into exile. They went principally to Nova Scotia or to the western part of the province of Quebec. The British government treated them generously, giving heads of families 500 acres of land and single men 300. They were also given tools with which to work.

Two Other Migrations.—During the war there were two other migrations. One was from the coast towns to the interior of the states. The trade of many coast towns was ruined by the nearness of British ships, cruising off shore on the watch for colonial vessels. A part of their inhabitants were obliged to find employment elsewhere. Others moved to safer places, taking their industries with them. The result was, as a French traveler remarked, that the colonists gained not only freedom, but a more even spread of their population.

The second migration was more important. It passed over the mountains into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

Its beginnings go back to the French and Indian War. Hunters and trappers paid little attention to the rule of the British government concerning the great Indian territory west of the Appalachians.[1] Three mountain trails led from the older settlements toward the west. One was Braddock's road to Pittsburgh. Another led to the "blue grass" region of Kentucky through Cumberland Gap, where Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky now meet. The third followed the Holston River or the French Broad into the valley of the Tennessee. The story of the pioneers who crossed the mountains, especially that of Daniel Boone, the greatest of frontier hunters and fighters, is thrilling.

Cumberland Gap

Beginnings of Kentucky. — In 1769 Boone explored the trail through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, then a part of Virginia. The colonial assembly planned to make it the regular highway into their western lands, but it long remained simply a path. In 1774 James Harrod and thirty companions laid out Harrodsburg on the Kentucky River, and the year following Boone founded Boonesborough near by. Each settler marked off his own farm. The land was plentiful and it made little difference whether he took 400 or 1,000 acres. Most of the early settlers in Kentucky depended upon hunting and trapping to obtain furs, which they sold in the colonies or states.

[1] See page 132.

Tennessee. — The story of early Tennessee was similar. In 1769 a family settled on Watauga Creek in eastern Tennessee. In 1770 James Robertson, whom the people of Tennessee like to call the "father" of their state, settled in the same region. Many others soon joined the new settlements.

The Revolutionary War, instead of delaying the growth of the western settlements, helped them. Many colonists, leaving the regions threatened by war, took their way over the mountains. The great danger came from Indian attacks

MOUNTAIN TRAILS AND THE WESTERN COUNTRY

supported by the British garrison at Detroit or at other posts taken from France in 1763. The Indians did not require urging, for the settlers were invading their hunting grounds.

Wyoming Massacre. — The frontiersmen of Pennsylvania and New York suffered the most. Indians fell upon the settlements in the Wyoming Valley, where the Susquehanna River breaks through the mountains of northern Pennsylvania. The Indians drove from the valley those whom they did not kill, burned their homes, and laid waste their fields.

The people of the frontier were obliged to protect themselves. Washington could not spare any of his troops. The struggle was especially fierce in 1777 and 1778. The Indian,

like the white man, was fighting for his home. Both used the knife, the tomahawk, and the gun. Their warfare was more cruel than even that of loyalists and patriots near the coast.

The Conqueror of the Northwest. — In 1778 George Rogers Clark, one of the greatest hunters and Indian fighters in Kentucky, formed the plan of driving the British garrisons out of the Northwest; that is, from the region lying between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. Clark thought it was time to attack the real enemy behind the Indian. He gathered a small force of Indian fighters, mostly mountaineers and hunters, from the western part of Virginia. Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia encouraged him with money and good words.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

In May, 1778, Clark's little army of 150 men boarded several flat-boats and rowed or drifted down the Ohio River. Nearly opposite the Tennessee River, Clark landed and led his force northward across the level plains to the old French villages in Illinois. He reached the first, Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi River, on the evening of July 4, 1778, surprised the unsuspecting garrison, and occupied the town. It proved easy to induce the French to accept American rule, particularly since Clark could tell them, what they had not yet heard, that the French king had recently become the ally of the United States. Some of the adventurous young Frenchmen joined Clark's force. The Indians, who called him the "Big Knife Chief," were overawed by the union of Americans and French and ceased to oppose him.

Clark's greatest exploit was the recapture of Fort Vincennes on the Wabash, which the British commander at Detroit had seized in the preceding winter. The rivers

were full and the lowlands flooded. Clark's men while on their march were often obliged to wade in icy water. Sometimes it was up to their chins. He surprised the British garrison and compelled it to surrender. His success not only protected the settlers on the frontier and in Kentucky, but also gave the United States a claim to the Northwest when peace was made. For this reason Clark is called the conqueror of the Northwest.[1]

A Frontier Settlement — Boonesborough

Questions

1. Where did the war do great damage? Why did the colonial armies suffer from want? Why did the British armies fare better?
2. Why did Congress use paper money? With what results?
3. What new industries were started during the Revolution?
4. What war work did the women do?
5. How were the loyalists treated? What did many of them do?
6. Describe three emigrations that went on during the Revolution.
7. How did the pioneers in the West live? Why were they in great danger? Who were their leaders?
8. What did George Rogers Clark accomplish?

Exercises

1. On an outline map shade the regions that saw British armies before 1780.
2. Visit any museum having Revolutionary relics and describe the objects used in everyday life of those days.

[1] The region that Clark had seized was nearly as large as the thirteen colonies. They contained 341,752 square miles, while the Northwest contained 265,878.

CHAPTER XVII

HOW THE FRENCH HELPED THE COLONISTS

Good News from France. — In the winter of 1777–1778 the outlook for the colonial cause seemed dark. Not only was the Continental army at Valley Forge in distress from lack of food and clothing, but a group of officers and members of Congress plotted to get rid of Washington and put Gates in his place. Their plan came to nothing, and with spring news arrived that on February 6 King Louis XVI of France had become the ally of the young republic.

From the beginning of the troubles between England and her colonies the French had looked on with increasing interest. Many Frenchmen were eager for a chance of revenge on account of the losses which their country had suffered in the recent war. Others were interested in the cause of the colonists. They were ready to cheer on men who claimed the right to govern themselves. They admired the Americans also because the colonial farmers and planters appeared to be living more natural lives than Europeans. In America there were no princes or lords. Every man seemed to have an equal opportunity to make the most of himself.

As soon as the war broke out Congress sent agents to the countries of Europe, hoping for aid against Great Britain. Fortunately one of the commissioners to France was Benjamin Franklin. His homely sayings in *Poor Richard's Almanac*, his clever inventions, like the stove, and his discovery, by means of a kite, that lightning is electricity, had already made him famous. He was regarded as a scientist and a philosopher. His simple manners and dress helped win the love of the French, who were growing weary of wigs and laces and ruffles. Franklin styles, Franklin caps, Franklin snuff-boxes, and Franklin walking-sticks became the craze

in Paris. His portraits and busts appeared everywhere, until he declared to his daughter that her "father's face was as well known as the moon."

The French first aided the colonies secretly, giving clothing, powder, and guns for the Continental army to Franklin or the other commissioners. Similar aid was obtained from Spain. Besides, several million dollars were lent to the United States, to be repaid when peace was made. Some influential officials thought the time had now come for an attack upon the ancient enemy of France. Others wished to wait until the colonial troops gained a decisive victory. The news of the capture of Burgoyne and his army put an end to their hesitation, and Louis XVI agreed to a treaty of alliance.

Benjamin Franklin
After the portrait by Duplessis, 1783

Lafayette and Steuben. — Many young Frenchmen had already come to America on their own account to help the colonists, some in search of adventure or glory, others because, like the Americans, they wanted to fight for "liberty." No other became so famous or gave so much valuable service as the Marquis de Lafayette, a young nobleman of great wealth and influential family. Lafayette was barely twenty years of age in 1777 when he joined Washington's army. He had been educated in a military school and was given a high rank in the Continental army. He generously served without pay. Washington came to love him as if he were a son. His name is still remembered with affection by Americans.

Another foreigner who was of much assistance was Baron Steuben, a Prussian nobleman. Steuben was an experienced officer, having served long under Frederick the Great, the

most famous general of the time. During the dreary winter at Valley Forge Steuben trained the soldiers in the European mode of fighting. Two Polish nobles also fought bravely for the cause — Kosciuszko, who helped win the victory over Burgoyne, and Pulaski, who died fighting at the head of his troops in the attempt to recapture Savannah.

Value of the French Alliance. — The French strengthened the colonists on the sea, where they were weakest. Ever since the disasters of the French and Indian War, France had been busy rebuilding her ruined fleet. In 1778 she had nearly as many battle-ships as England. A year later the French persuaded the Spaniards, who desired to recover Gibraltar, to join them in the war, and then their united fleets were able to dispute the mastery of the seas with the British. From 1778, and especially from 1779, the English were too busy defending their colonies in the West Indies and in the East Indies, and their fortress of Gibraltar at the entrance of the Mediterranean, to give the greatest part of their attention to the war in America.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE
After a French engraving of his time

As soon as the British government knew that war with France was certain, General Clinton, who had taken Howe's place at Philadelphia, was ordered to return to New York and to send 8,000 of his troops to the West Indies to attempt the conquest of the French islands. Washington pursued the British, attacked them at Monmouth, and hastened their retreat. He then encamped at White Plains, near New York. He was not strong enough to attack the city. A French fleet appeared off the coast, but did not attempt to force an entrance to the harbor. It finally sailed for the

West Indies after a storm had prevented an attack upon Newport. General Clinton, however, soon withdrew the Newport garrison to New York.

New Enemies of Great Britain. — Before long the British government added to the number of its enemies. British war ships claimed the right to search the merchant ships of other countries in order to see if they were supplying the enemy with powder, guns, or anything else needed in war. In doing this they paid so little attention to the rights of other nations that the Dutch, the Danes, the Prussians, the Swedes, and the Russians prepared to resist by force. With the Dutch the quarrel led to war.

All this was fortunate for Washington and the colonial cause. Congress and the army were in a desperate situation. The paper money was fast losing its value. Another misfortune added to Washington's trials. Benedict Arnold, one of the ablest and bravest of his officers, whom he had trusted as a friend, went over to the British. What made Arnold's treachery still blacker was his attempt to betray the fortifications at West Point, the strongest position on the Hudson. His plans were discovered in time to save West Point, but he escaped to New York. He served under the British flag until the end of the war, ravaging parts of Connecticut and Virginia, and making his name a by-word among his fellow countrymen.

Exploits on the Sea. — The only war ships that the Americans possessed were remodeled merchant vessels. No one of them was large enough to engage in battle with an English ship-of-the-line. The British fleet soon drove from the sea the few ships that Congress had armed. If the control of the Atlantic Ocean as a base of operations was to be taken from the British, it must be by the French fleets.

The hero of the greatest exploit of the little colonial navy was John Paul Jones. In 1779 the French king lent Jones a large remodeled merchant vessel, in order that he might attack British merchant ships as they were entering or leaving their home ports. Jones called his ship the *Bon Homme*

Richard, in honor of his friend Franklin and Franklin's famous almanac.

In September, 1779, the *Richard* had a terrible fight with the British frigate [1] *Serapis* near the mouth of the Humber River, on the eastern coast of England. The *Serapis* was stronger and swifter. The only chance of victory for Jones was to close with his enemy and lash the two ships together. This he did after the *Bon Homme Richard* was on fire. His men then boarded the *Serapis* and compelled the British to surrender. The *Richard* was now sinking, and Jones transferred his crew and those who had been wounded to the *Serapis*. A few hours later the *Richard* sank, carrying down the brave men who had fallen in the struggle.

JOHN PAUL JONES
After the etching by A. Varen

Commerce. — The war did not put an end to foreign trade of the United States. It did make it difficult because British cruisers haunted the American coast in search of merchant ships. The trade must have continued in spite of them, for in the first four years of the war the English captured over 500 vessels, most of them near the coast. About 200 were engaged in trade with Europe or the West Indies. American merchants often armed their vessels, receiving from Congress letters authorizing them to capture vessels of the enemy. These armed ships owned by private persons were called privateers. They scoured the seas for English merchant vessels, which they took to Europe for sale. They captured 320 merchant vessels in 1777 alone. They also carried cargoes. With the money so obtained they bought European goods needed in the states.

After the French and Dutch both became enemies of Eng-

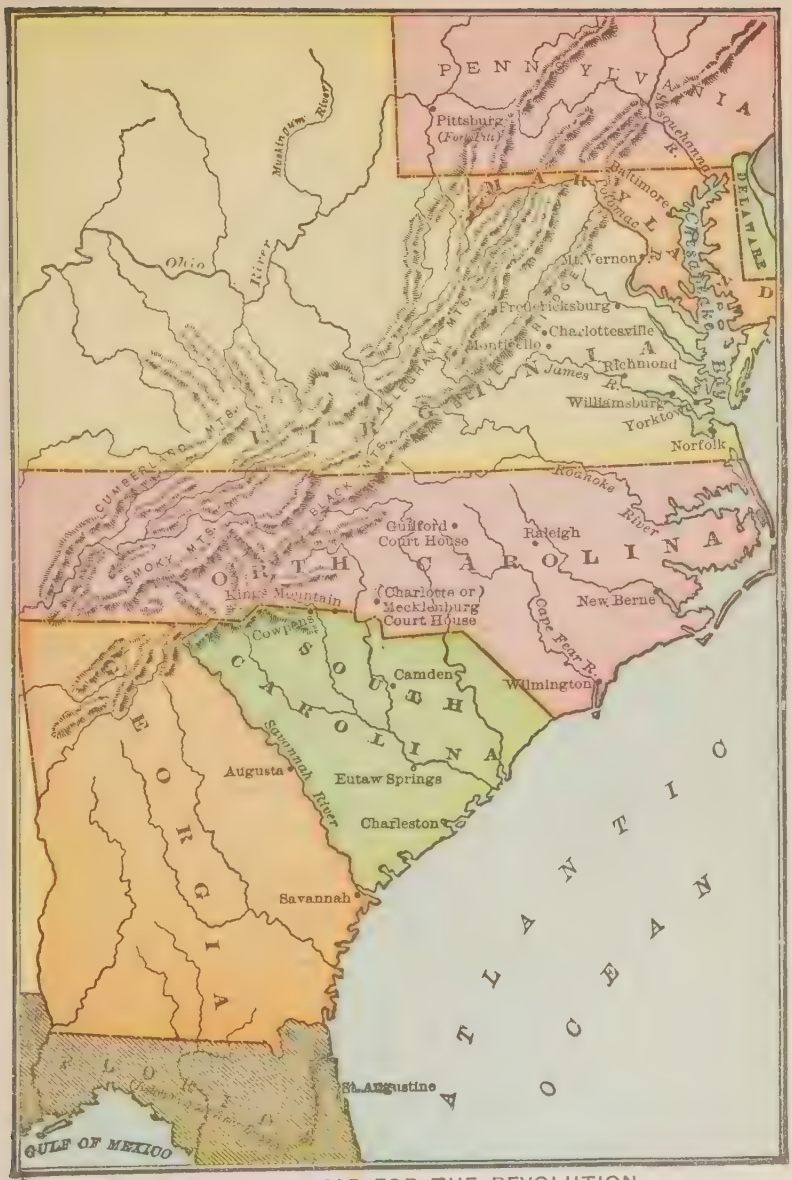
[1] A ship-of-the-line is a battle-ship. A frigate was smaller, carrying 28 to 44 guns. The *Serapis* carried 44.

land the trade with the French and Dutch West Indies was especially lively. The Dutch were glad to exchange saltpeter, from which powder was made, for Virginia tobacco. If the mouth of Chesapeake Bay was too closely watched by British cruisers, the tobacco was hauled in wagons to the North Carolina coast, and shipped from there to the West Indies. In 1781, when the British admiral captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, he found hogsheads of tobacco and casks of rice piled up on the shore by the hundred. Some of this tobacco was owned by British merchants who were making money rapidly in trading with the "rebels." Within four years twenty-four million pounds of Chesapeake tobacco found their way to the English market. From 1779 until the war closed trade with Europe brought to the states nearly all the commodities they needed. Travelers were astonished to see that the colonists were prospering in spite of the war.

War in the South, 1778–1781. — In 1778 Clinton took advantage of the absence of the French fleet in the West Indies to shift the war to the southern states. Washington could not send the southern patriots much help. For a time the British had things their own way in Georgia and South Carolina. They took Savannah in 1778, and Charleston in 1780. The revolutionary army in these states was either captured or broken up.

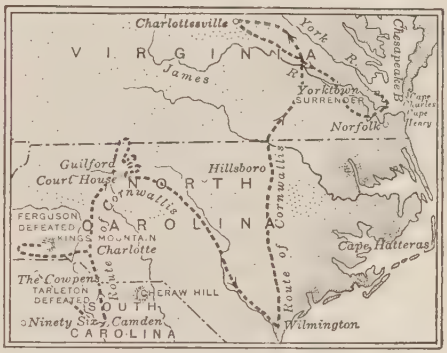
The conquest of the Carolinas was far from complete, as Major Ferguson, commander of the best loyalist regiment in the British service, learned to his cost. Within a few weeks after a Continental army under General Gates had been dispersed at Camden, Ferguson ventured into the mountains. The settlers assembled quickly under the leadership of Sevier and other pioneers, surrounded Ferguson at King's Mountain October 7, 1780, and killed or captured his whole force.

Marion, Pickens, and Sumter. — Other fearless patriots like Francis Marion, Andrew Pickens, and Thomas Sumter kept the flame of revolution burning in the South. They



REFERENCE MAP FOR THE REVOLUTION
SOUTHERN STATES

formed small bands of volunteers, who came and went as they wished, and served at their own expense. Their men were wretchedly equipped and clothed, but full of zeal and patriotism. Such a band would lie hidden in the deep forests and mountain valleys until an opportunity came to surprise a party of British foragers or their loyalist allies. Marksmen then stealthily approached the British camps and shot the soldiers as they went about their ordinary pursuits. It was a new kind of warfare and greatly annoyed the British. Cornwallis, who was in command of the British army at the South, wrote home calling Sumter "the greatest plague in the country." "But for Sumter and Marion," he said, "South Carolina would be at peace."



CORNWALLIS'S WANDERING CAMPAIGN AT THE SOUTH

What Greene accomplished. — After the defeat of Gates, Washington sent Nathaniel Greene, his best general, with a small army to the Carolinas. Although Morgan, one of his officers, promptly broke up a British force at Cowpens and Greene himself checked Cornwallis at Guilford Court House, his army was not strong enough to defeat the British in open battle. But the result of his skillful management was that Cornwallis was obliged to withdraw to the coast to obtain supplies and reënforcements.

Cornwallis in Virginia. — In the spring of 1781 Cornwallis abandoned the half-finished conquest of the Carolinas and marched into Virginia, which he regarded as the center of colonial resistance. If Virginia were subdued, he thought, the king's authority would again be respected. Already a British force was fighting in Virginia against a Continental

army under Lafayette. While Cornwallis marched northward, Greene began a campaign which ended in the recovery of the Carolinas and Georgia. British garrisons held only Charleston and Savannah.

The Allies plan to capture Cornwallis. — Meanwhile a French army of 5,500 soldiers, led by excellent officers and commanded by the Count de Rochambeau, had reached America. In the winter of 1779–1780 Lafayette had visited France and had persuaded the king to send this aid. Washington wished the French army and the French fleet to unite with him in an attack on New York, but Rochambeau thought this too difficult. Cornwallis's appearance in Virginia seemed to offer a better chance of success. Word was received from the Count de Grasse, commander of a large French fleet in the West Indies, that he would be on the coast of Virginia by September 1, 1781.

PRINCIPAL STREET OF YORKTOWN
In the distance is the monument erected in 1881 to commemorate the surrender of Cornwallis

Cornwallis had fortified Yorktown, from which he expected to keep open communication by sea with New York. Yorktown would thus serve as a starting point for the conquest of Virginia. Washington and Rochambeau believed that with the help of a fleet Cornwallis could be captured before Clinton could send him aid. Washington left the greater part of his army to watch Clinton at New York, and with Rochambeau crossed New Jersey on the way to Virginia. De Grasse kept his promise and by August 29 was on the Virginia coast. A British fleet which sailed from New York was so crippled in battle with the French that it was obliged to return to New York for repairs. Before it had a chance to refit and

sail to Virginia again, Washington and Rochambeau had forced Cornwallis to surrender. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis and his army, numbering more than 7,000 men, became prisoners of war.

Overthrow of the King's Friends in England. — The surrender of Cornwallis ended the Revolutionary War. The policy of Lord North and of the King was violently attacked in the House of Commons by General Conway and Charles James Fox, men who had always been friendly to America. They were aided by the younger William Pitt. In March, 1782, the majority of the House voted against continuance of the war. Lord North resigned, and a new ministry was formed in which Conway and Fox were leading members. They sent word to Franklin in Paris that they were ready to talk about terms of peace. They also introduced reforms by which in the future it would be more difficult for the King and his "Friends" to secure the election of their paid agents and thus control the action of parliament. For example, about forty useless offices like the King's turnspit were abolished; the list of those receiving pensions from the King was reduced; the private expenditures of the King were carefully regulated. Pitt planned to strike a still more severe blow at the corrupt influence of the King and his

SKETCH MAP OF YORKTOWN

AA = French and American batteries. BB = French batteries. C = British redoubt. RRR = French ships

supporters by a thorough reorganization of parliamentary representation, but that had to wait another half century. Such reforms as were passed formed an important step toward the freedom of parliament. They had come too late to save the thirteen colonies for England.

An Independent Nation. — It was more than a year before terms of peace were agreed upon. The interests of France, Spain, and Holland, as well as of the American states, had to be provided for in the final agreements. Fortunately for Great Britain a fleet under Rodney defeated De Grasse in the West Indies in the spring of 1782, after which the French did not demand hard terms of Great Britain.

A GENERAL PEACE

NEW-YORK, March 25, 1783

LATE last Night, an EXPRESS from New-Jersey, brought the following Account.

THAT on Sunday last, the Twenty-Third Inſtant, a Veſſel arrived at Philadelphia, in Thirty-five Days from Cadiz, with *Diſpatches* to the *Continental Congreſs*, informing them, that on Monday the Twentieth Day of January, the PRELIMINARIES to

A GENERAL PEACE,

Between *Great-Britain, France, Spain, Holland,* and the *United States of America*, were SIGNED at Paris, by all the Commiſſioners from thoſe Powers, in conſequence of which, Hoſtilities, by Sea and Land, were to *ceaſe* in Europe, on Wedneſday the Twentieth Day of February; and in America, on Thurſday the Twentieth Day of March, in the preſent Year One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Three.

THIS very *important* Intelligence was laſt Night announced by the Firing of Cannon, and great Rejoicings at Elizabeth-Town.—Reſpecting the Particulars of this truly intereſting Event no more are yet received, but they are hourly expected.

Publiſhed by James Rivington, *Printer to the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

The foregoing Broadſide has been compared with the original in the Senate Houſe in Boſton, N. Y. and found correct.

JULIUS SCHOONMAKER
Committee

{Subſcribed and ſworn to before me this 13th day of October 1698.}
C. HUME,
Notary Public.

A BROADSIDE ANNOUNCING PEACE
Reduced facsimile

According to the treaty of peace, signed in Paris in September, 1783, the independence of the United States was recognized by Great Britain. The new nation was also to possess the region from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi River and from the Great Lakes to Florida, although the territory north of the Ohio had been included by the Quebec Act in the province of Quebec. The Americans were to retain the right to fish off the coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.

Spain received Florida, which England had possessed for twenty years. France gained little but glory from the war, although she had added more than $300,000,000 to her national debt. But the French rejoiced that they had hum-

bled their ancient enemy. Many of them rejoiced also at the success of their new friends, the Americans. Up to the Revolutionary War the colonists had regarded the French as relentless foes, who with their Indian allies might fall upon the defenceless frontier settlements. Henceforth they were remembered as a generous nation which had come to their aid when the colonial cause was darkest.

Washington's Services. — Washington did one more great service to his country before he returned to Mount Vernon as a private citizen. Both soldiers and officers in the army

MOUNT VERNON

After an old print. As it appeared in Washington's time

were discontented because Congress had left them unpaid. Many men feared that they would refuse to go home now that the war was over, but would remain together and take by force what they could not obtain peacefully from the bankrupt government. It was even whispered about that some of them wished to make Washington a king as their only hope of fair treatment. When Washington heard of this, he was much distressed. He used his influence with the officers and with the members of Congress to such good effect that a just agreement was made. Soldiers and officers went home quietly.

Washington now resigned his commission in the army and returned to Mount Vernon, from which he had been absent more than eight years. He accepted no salary for his services, nor would he take any reward after the war was over, although his plantation had suffered from neglect. His place was secure in the hearts of his countrymen. With him Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and many others were gratefully remembered.

Questions

1. What causes had the colonists for discouragement in the winter of 1777–1778? What news encouraged them?

2. Why did the French join the colonial cause? In what different ways did the French aid the colonies? Why was the coming of Lafayette and Steuben particularly fortunate for Washington?

3. In what way was the French alliance of the greatest value to the colonies? What change did the British make in the conduct of the war because of the alliance?

4. What enemies did England make in the course of the Revolution? Why did the Spaniards and Dutch also go to war with England? How did England's other wars affect the colonial cause?

5. Did the colonies have a navy? What were the privateers doing to help the colonial cause?

6. Tell the story of John Paul Jones's battle with the *Serapis*. How did the Revolution affect the foreign trade of the United States? How did the French alliance affect it?

7. Where did Clinton try to carry on the war after 1778? What success did he have? Why did he fail to conquer completely the southern colonies? What did General Greene accomplish?

8. What further aid did France give the colonies in 1780? What plan did Washington and Rochambeau form?

9. Describe the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Why did the loss of the army of Cornwallis greatly alarm the British ministers? What were they ready to do? How was the King's power in England broken, and Parliamentary freedom restored?

10. Why did it take nearly two years after the battle of Yorktown to arrange the terms of peace?

11. What did Spain and France gain from their war with England?

12. What was Washington's service to his country just before retiring from the Revolutionary army?

Review of the Revolution

1754–63. The French and Indian War. Frontiersmen seeking the western lands encroached on territory claimed by the French. The French lost not only the lands in dispute, but also their other American colonies.

1763–65. England (1) continued her old policy of interfering with the freedom of the trade of the colonies, enforcing near the close of the French War and afterward laws which had never before been enforced in the colonies, (2) attempted to maintain a regular army in the colonies, and (3) passed laws like the Stamp Act to raise money for the support of the army.

1765–75. The colonists resisted the British policy by refusing to trade with England, by destroying stamps, burning ships sent to enforce the trade laws, and by other means, like throwing the tea overboard.

1768. England punished the colonies by increasing the regular army, and in 1774 by closing the port of Boston and taking away some of Massachusetts' powers of self-government.

1774. The colonists at the Continental Congress united in resisting such acts, formed a general agreement not to trade with England, and prepared for defence if war came.

1775. The battles of Lexington and Concord began the war of the Revolution.

1776. The British evacuated Boston and seized New York City. Congress set forth a Declaration of Independence and the colonies began making permanent state governments.

1777. The colonial forces captured Burgoyne's army, and the British took Philadelphia. During the war the colonies created new industries and spread westward.

1778. George Rogers Clark conquered the Northwest. The French formed an alliance with the colonies.

1779. Spain joined France in the war.

1780. England also went to war with Holland. Clinton carried the American war into the southern colonies.

A French army landed in America, under Count de Rochambeau, to help Washington.

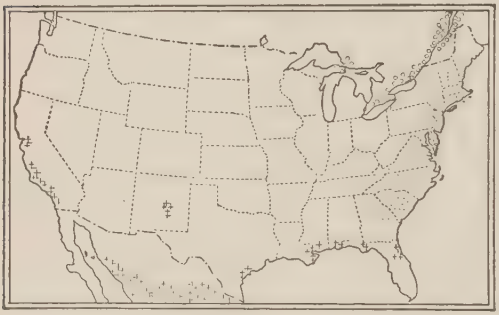
1781. The United Colonies adopted a constitution, the Articles of Confederation. Cornwallis was captured by the combined work of Washington, Rochambeau, and the French fleet.

1783. A treaty of peace was agreed to. Thirteen English colonies finally became both united and independent.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

Our Country in 1783. — The United States of 1783 was in area only about one-fourth as large as it is today. More than half lay west of the Appalachian Mountains. This part, save for a few settlements, was uninhabited by white men. Even the region east of the mountains was thinly settled. The greater part of the population lived near the coast and in the richer farming valleys. It is impossible to say exactly how many inhabitants the country had, for no census had ever been taken. But probably about 3,250,000 persons lived in the United States, not counting 100,000 or 200,000 Indians. About one-fifth of the people were negro slaves.



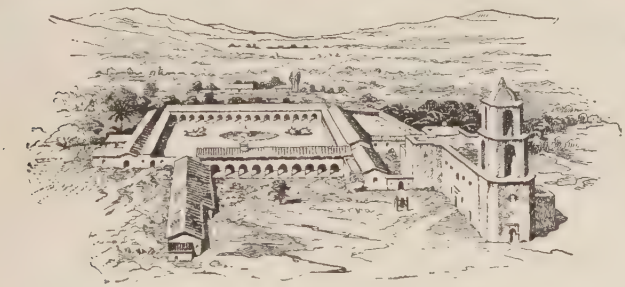
OUR COUNTRY IN 1783

Black dots show the settled regions in the United States; circles show the regions of Canada in settlement; crosses show the Spanish settlements; the white shows the unoccupied territory

The present state of Pennsylvania has nearly three times as many people as the whole United States had in 1783; New York City has twice as many. The United States was not only the youngest but also one of the smallest nations in the world. Great Britain, including Ireland, numbered nearly four times as many inhabitants; Spain more than three times; and France eight times.

North American Neighbors. — The neighbors of the United States in North America were few. Small English settlements existed in Nova Scotia. Possibly 60,000 French people lived in the colony of Quebec. About 40,000 loyalists, who fled from the United States during the Revolution, formed the main part of the population in two new British provinces of New Brunswick and Upper Canada.[1] The people of the United States looked upon these people as living in the "frozen north."

Spain had five colonies or provinces within what is now the United States. These colonies were Florida and Louisiana on the south and west, some small mission settlements



Plan of a Spanish Mission Settlement

in Texas and New Mexico forming the outposts of Mexico, and a new colony, California, in the far west. In 1769 a party of Spanish missionaries and soldiers had entered California and established an Indian mission at San Diego. Seven years later they established a mission which was the beginning of San Francisco, the great city of the Golden Gate. Some pushed on into the interior, and established other missions, placing them in fertile valleys where Indian tribes might be reached. The good monk, Junipero Serra, was at the head of the movement. He gloried even in his sufferings as he tramped across terrible deserts or visited hostile Indians.

[1] In 1791 Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, which were permitted to have provincial assemblies.

The news that a mission had been founded was received in Mexico with rejoicing and the ringing of bells. Proclamations of the government carried the story to the humblest hamlet and even to far-away Spain. The California missions, at first simple places of worship and residence for priests and their helpers, became in a short time thriving colonies. Beautiful buildings were erected, ruins of which may still be seen in many places throughout California. Indians were persuaded to abandon their wandering life and settle on the mission farms, or work in the mission kitchens or workshops. Each mission was an Indian colony with a few Spanish missionaries and army officers.

THE MISSION OF SAN LUIS REY
The most beautiful of the many Spanish missions in California

Soldiers stationed near the missions were almost the only other Spaniards. There were, however, two or three towns for ordinary settlers. Los Angeles was begun in 1781. The total Spanish population in California was probably less than a tenth of the Indian population living at the missions. The sturdy peasants and skilled laborers of Spain did not go there any more than they did to Mexico or the West Indies or any other Spanish colony in the New World.

Except along the borders of Florida the settlements of the new republic were separated from those of its neighbors by vast stretches of unoccupied land. The Spaniards advancing into the Southwest and the people of the states moving into the Ohio Valley would not come into conflict for many years. In reality, however, they were entered upon a new race, this time for the possession of the Great West.

Danger from Disunion. — In 1783 the danger to the people of the states came from their lack of union rather than from the rivalry of foreign settlements. As yet they had little to do with one another. The roads were few, rudely made, without much attempt at grading. The vessels which plied from port to port sailed on no regular schedule. Travelers ordinarily went on horseback or by stage-coach.

To the PUBLIC.

THE FLYING MACHINE, kept by John Mercereau, at the New Blazing-Star-Ferry, near New-York, fets off from Powles Hook every Monday, Wednefday, and Friday Mornings, for Philadelphia, and performs the Journey in a Day and a Half, for the Summer Seafon, till the 1ft of November; from that Time to go twice a Week till the firft of May, when they again perform it three Times a Week. When the Stages go only twice a Week, they fet off Mondays and Thurfdays. The Waggons in Philadelphia fet out from the Sign of the George, in Second-ftreet, the fame Morning. The Paffengers are defired to crofs the Ferry the Evening before, as the Stages muft fet off early the next Morning. The Price for each Paffenger is *Twenty Shillings*, Proc. and Goods as ufual. Paffengers going Part of the Way to pay in Proportion.

As the Proprietor has made fuch Improvements upon the Machines, one of which is in Imitation of a Coach, he hopes to merit the Favour of the Publick.

JOHN MERCEREAU.

New York Gazette 1771

STAGE-COACH ANNOUNCEMENT

Several stage-coaches made the journey each week between Boston and New York, New York and Philadelphia, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and a few smaller places. The coach was really a stage-wagon, something like the covered light wagons in common use today. It often took three days, starting at three o'clock in the morning and traveling until ten at night, to go from Philadelphia to New York, or six days from New York to Boston. No bridges spanned the large rivers, for the bridge-makers or carpenters of that time had not learned how to build long spans. If a river was shallow it could be forded; if wide and deep, the coach could be carried across on a ferry boat. Even short journeys were full of excitement, hardship, and danger.

The ordinary man seldom traveled beyond the boundaries of his county. The New Englander only on the rarest occasions traveled south of the Potomac, or the Southerner to the North. Dress, social customs, and even uses of words and phrases varied in different states. Besides, the Dutch in New York, the Germans in Pennsylvania, and the French

in Detroit and the Illinois country still kept the language and ways of their fathers in the Old World.

Why the People knew so Little of One Another. — The newspapers were more enterprising than they had been before the war, but they were not distributed through the post-offices, and were therefore hard to obtain. The post-offices handled only letters. Postriders carried the little mail there was in saddle-bags attached to the saddles. A pair of saddle-bags was enough to carry the mail on any trip between New York and Philadelphia or Boston and New York. People living in small towns seldom received mail oftener than once a week. It was harder and much more expensive to send a letter to many a backwoods or frontier town than it is today to send one into the interior of China. The postriders usually left the mail at the town inns.

Postrider of the Olden Times

Would the Republic endure? — Many persons wondered how long a republic, the parts of which were so loosely connected with one another, would hold together. It was really thirteen republics, for the Continental Congress had little power, and this Congress was the only central authority. A shrewd Frenchman called the United States "a giant without bones." He probably meant that the republic had no king or nobles to manage its affairs. English people thought that the Americans would repent of their separation and return to their allegiance to George III.

What Congress accomplished. — The Congress of the Confederation accomplished some things of great value, in spite of the fact that it possessed little authority. With the aid of Washington it carried the war to a successful ending.

Its agents made an advantageous peace with Great Britain. When the war, which had furnished the strongest reasons for union, was over, Congress kept the states together until they became accustomed to united action. What in 1781 seemed merely a "league of friendship" began to grow into a deep and lasting union for the common good.

A New System of Money. — Even after the close of the war seven states issued paper money. Like the earlier issues most of this was never redeemed in coin. Paper money was the cause of many disputes about the payment of debts. Still there was another difficulty. The people used foreign silver and gold coins in ordinary trade, for Congress coined no money. These foreign coins — crowns, doubloons, guineas, johanneses, moidores, pistoles, shillings, and Spanish dollars — often varied in value. Many were counterfeited or had their edges clipped. Washington said it would soon be necessary to carry about scales in order to weigh such coins.

COPPER CENT COINED IN 1783

Although Congress was unable to remedy these evils, it provided a system of money in which all coins could be given a place or value. The system might be used in planning for new coins when a mint was established. It was called the decimal system because the cent, the second measure of value, was ten times the mill, which was the first; while the dime was ten times the cent; and the dollar was ten times the dime.

The Northwest Territory. — Congress invented a way of managing its western lands which helped to unite the states. George Rogers Clark had conquered the lands northwest of the Ohio in 1778. The United States had been allowed to retain these in the treaty of peace with Great Britain. But several old states, Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and

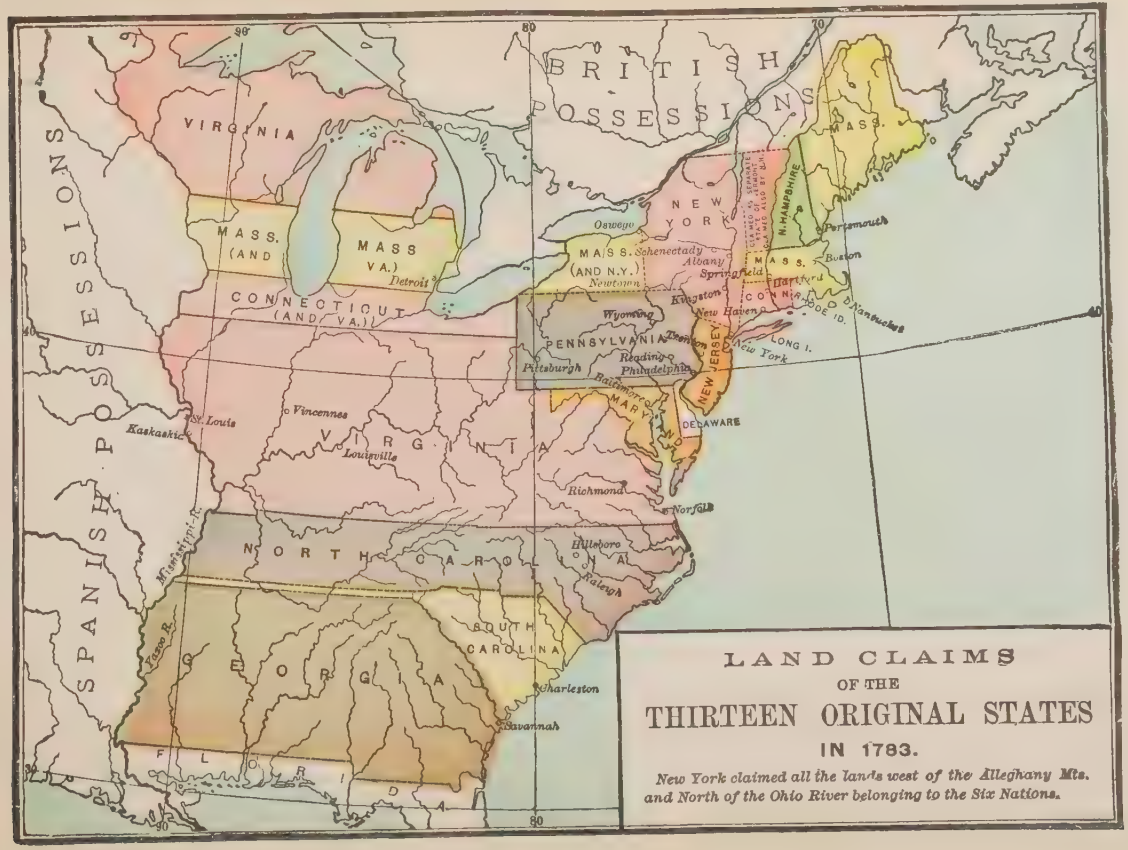
Massachusetts, laid claim to the region. Maryland refused to join in any union if the others were to keep great tracts of western lands. Finally the states that claimed western lands gave up most of them.[1] These lands became the common territory of all, the first territory of the United States.

Surveying Lands in the "Northwest." — In 1785 Congress adopted a plan of surveying the western lands. Land in the old colonies had been loosely and carelessly surveyed. The frontier settlers often made their own boundaries by tomahawk marks on the trees. This led to innumerable disputes between farmers. It left the lines between farms crooked and made many strange-shaped pieces of land which nobody wanted. The new way was to survey the western territory into squares six miles on a side, called townships, and to divide these into smaller squares called sections, one mile on a side. These were again divided into smaller squares called "quarters," 160 acres in extent. In this plan four quarters formed a section, and thirty-six sections a township. Each section and township was numbered so that any piece of land could be readily located. The land was to be sold at $1 an acre.[2] Congress promised the settlers to give the sixteenth section in every township for the support of public schools.

The Ordinance of 1787. — In 1787, Congress provided a way of governing the Northwest Territory. Many Revolutionary soldiers wished to locate within it the lands which Congress had promised them. Several officers belonged to the Ohio Company, which was formed to buy land of Congress and sell it to settlers. Both wished a stable govern-

[1] Connecticut kept back or reserved a tract 120 miles long, lying west of Pennsylvania and south of Lake Erie, called the Western Reserve. In time Connecticut gave part of this land to its citizens who had suffered from British raids during the Revolution and sold part to a land company, using the money for the benefit of public schools. Virginia also retained, besides the Kentucky region, some lands north of the Ohio River, sometimes called the Virginia Military Reserve, for its citizens who had served as soldiers in the Revolution.

[2] In 1796 the price was raised to $2.



LAND CLAIMS
OF THE
THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES
IN 1783.

New York claimed all the lands west of the Alleghany Mts. and North of the Ohio River belonging to the Six Nations.

ment in the territory, capable of protecting the property of the settlers and of deciding disputes between them. Such a government was provided by a law called the Ordinance of 1787. Congress was to appoint a governor and judges to rule until the territory numbered 5,000 inhabitants. The territory was then to have an assembly of its own. As soon as any part of the territory had 60,000 people or more, it was to become a state equal in all respects to the older states. The new state would also become a part of the union. Congress promised that the inhabitants should always have freedom of religion, right of trial by jury, and free republican

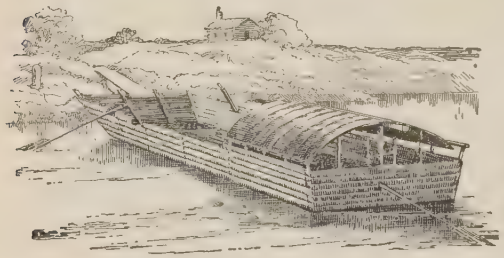
THE SETTLEMENT AT THE "POINT" AT MARIETTA IN 1790

state governments. It also declared that no laborers should be held as slaves. By the survey act of 1785 and the Ordinance of 1787 Congress adopted the policy of encouraging free laborers, promising them cheap land and political equality.

Beginnings of Ohio. — The Ohio Company immediately took advantage of the new plan. It purchased from Congress several hundred thousand acres in the southeastern part of the present state of Ohio. In the spring of 1788 General Rufus Putnam and a band of New Englanders reached the spot where the Muskingum River flows into the Ohio River. By the middle of summer many acres of growing corn, several log huts, and a block-house marked the progress of the new settlement. Out of gratitude to the French

for aid during the war, the settlers named the village Marietta, a shortened form of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France. Another company purchased lands farther down the Ohio, including the site of Cincinnati.

Emigration to the West. — The settlements south of the Ohio River, in the present state of Kentucky, were growing rapidly. Twelve thousand persons entered the region in a single year. Louisville soon became a thriving village. Emigrants to the Ohio country, whether north or south of the river, crossed the mountains in covered wagons, sleeping in these at night and cooking their food by the roadside.



An Emigrant's Flatboat

The route led to Pittsburgh, if they were from New England or the middle states, and to Wheeling, if from Maryland or Virginia. At the bank of the Ohio they obtained flatboats large enough to carry wagons, livestock, and household stuff. The current of the river carried them on at the rate of four or five miles an hour. When the place was reached to which the settlers were going, they used the planks of the boat for buildings.

Distress in the States. — One reason why so many people moved to the Ohio country was the distress in the states. A sudden change from war to peace is often as ruinous to business as a change from peace to war. Industries which profited by the war lost the market for their goods. Channels of trade which the war opened were closed. Even rich men could not obtain money enough to pay their ordinary debts. In 1788 Washington had to put off the tax collector because a man who owed him could not pay. Common debtors came to look upon judges as their enemies, since

it was the decisions of judges which compelled them to pay or go to jail. In certain Massachusetts towns mobs hindered meetings of the courts. Finally the discontented, including many debtors from the western part of the state, assembled under the leadership of Captain Daniel Shays and attempted to capture the arsenal at Springfield. The rioters were soon dispersed. The Rhode Island legislature tried to help debtors by issuing great quantities of paper money and compelling creditors to accept the worthless bills. It also threatened storekeepers with loss of political rights if they did not sell their goods at low prices fixed in paper money.

Trade after the War. — The merchants and ship owners, who had been growing rich on the trade with France and Spain during the later years of the war, were distressed to discover that at its close they could no longer trade with the French or Spanish West Indies. The British West Indies were also closed, because the Americans were now foreigners. The French in the commercial treaty of 1778 had promised the Americans only as good treatment as that granted to any other foreigners. While the war lasted the French government gave special privileges to American ships in order to injure the English, but withdrew these privileges in 1783. Fortunately for the American merchants the French planters cried out that they were the ones principally hurt, for they could no longer get cheap food for their plantation hands. By 1785, therefore, the French government reopened the trade in a few products. The English planters obtained similar privileges of trade with the United States, so that by 1786 the West Indian trade was again on the road to prosperity.

The stopping of the West Indian trade for two or three years made it hard for the American merchants to pay for what they bought in Europe and especially in England. They had few products except tobacco and rice which they could offer in exchange. The English government added to the difficulty by insisting that ships could bring no goods except those of the state where the ship was owned. A New Englander, therefore, could not carry South Carolina rice or

Virginia tobacco to England. The aim, of course, was to give this business to English ships.

Congress and Trade. — Another difficulty grew out of the fact that Congress did not have the right to make rules of trade for all the states. Each state had its own set of laws and levied such taxes as it pleased on articles which its merchants bought. States sometimes tried to take vengeance on England because the English government treated American merchants badly. States also taxed articles brought in from other states. New Jersey was so angry at the taxes New York levied on articles sent to New York that the state tried to levy a tax of £30 a month on a little land at Sandy Hook which the New Yorkers had bought for a light-house.

The Mississippi Question. — Still greater dangers arose over the navigation of the Mississippi. The lower part of the river for 200 miles flowed through Spanish territory. The Americans, like the English from 1763 to the Revolutionary War, claimed the right to sail down the Mississippi and out into the Gulf of Mexico without interference from the Spaniards. But the Spaniards disputed the claim. They wanted to check the growth of the western settlements. One way to accomplish this was by cutting off the only outlet for trade. They therefore offered valuable privileges of trade with Spain and the Spanish West Indies, if the United States would give up the claim to the use of the lower Mississippi. Some men in Congress were ready to obtain trade privileges at this price. When the settlers in Kentucky and on the Tennessee heard of it, they threatened to secede if it were done.

Need of a Stronger Union. — It had already become clear that the states needed a stronger government if they were to deal successfully with foreign nations. By 1787 even so friendly a government as France thought the republic was falling to pieces. The British would not withdraw their garrisons from the northern frontier posts.[1]

Congress was unable to collect money enough to pay the

[1] British garrisons still held Detroit, Mackinac, Erie, Niagara, and Oswego, though these posts now belonged to the United States.

ordinary expenses of the government. It was obliged to ask the states to send money for such purposes. In 1782 and 1783 Congress asked for $10,000,000, but received less than $1,500,000. Delaware, Georgia, and North Carolina paid nothing, while New Hampshire paid $3,000 instead of $450,000.

Questions

1. Describe the United States in 1783. What neighbors had it?
2. Why did the Spanish colonies grow slowly? Who made up the inhabitants of these?
3. Upon what new race were the English and Spanish people starting as rivals? Why was the outcome of the race a long way off?
4. Why was there danger that the new republic would break up? Why did the people of the United States know so little of one another?
5. What did Congress accomplish? What kind of money was used? Describe the system of money adopted.
6. What arrangement did Congress and the states make regarding the western land claims? What plan did Congress adopt for the survey of these lands? What plan for the government of the Northwest Territory?
7. What western settlements were formed? How did the emigrants reach the western colonies? Why did they leave the old settlements?
8. How did the coming of peace after the Revolution affect the trade of the colonies? How did the people secure a profitable foreign trade?
9. Why was a stronger union needed?

Exercises

1. On an outline map of the present United States show the parts (1) which were already inhabited in 1783, (2) those which belonged to the United States, but were vacant, and (3) those held by foreign colonies.
2. Make two lists, one of the good things that the Congress of the Confederation accomplished between 1781 and 1789, and another of the things that it should have done but could not for want of power.
3. Describe the present English money system. Would it have been better if the United States had kept the money system of the mother country?
4. Review the story of the Virginia Company's colony at Jamestown and compare it with that of the Ohio Company's colony at Marietta.

Important Date:

1787. The adoption of the Northwest Ordinance.

CHAPTER XIX

STARTING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

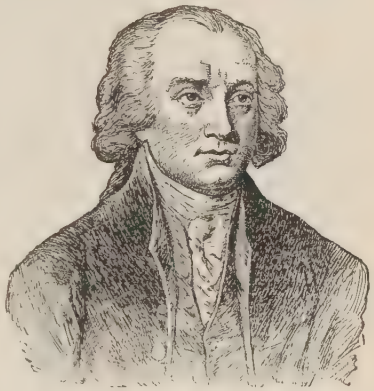
The Philadelphia Convention. — Disputes about trade, especially in Chesapeake Bay and along the Potomac River, finally convinced thoughtful men that a government strong enough to regulate all such matters was necessary. Attempts to settle by conference questions of trade between neighboring states like Virginia and Maryland came to nothing. A convention of delegates from all the states was then called. It met in Philadelphia in May, 1787.

James Madison, one of the youngest men at the convention, had carefully prepared himself beforehand to take a leading part in its work. He had so much to do with making the new government that he is often called the "Father of the Constitution." Many other notable men attended the Philadelphia convention. Among them were George Washington of Virginia, Benjamin Franklin and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and Alexander Hamilton of New York. Some great leaders of the day were occupied with other work and could not take part in the convention. John Jay had charge of foreign affairs and chose to stay at his post. John Adams was minister of the United States to England, Thomas Jefferson to France. Several well-known men, like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, were opposed to such a change in the government, and were not in the convention.

Washington was chosen president of the convention. The leaders made no attempt to patch the weak spots in the government of the Confederation. From the beginning they were resolved to propose to the people a form of government altogether new. One obstacle to success was the fact that no two of the thirteen states were of the same size, and yet each believed itself as important as any of the rest. The small

states were afraid to be yoked with the large states, for fear the latter would outvote and oppress them. A thousand imaginary dangers troubled the timid. At one time the Delaware delegates threatened to leave the convention. A majority of the New York delegates did leave in disgust at the decisions which the convention made.

A New Constitution. — The frame of government which the delegates completed, after working from May until well into September, differed widely from that which the states had accepted in the Articles of Confederation. In the first place, an official called a President was placed at the head of the administration of affairs. Secondly, the legislature, or Congress, was divided into a Senate and a House of Representatives. In the third place, a Supreme Court was provided. The powers granted to each of these branches of the government showed that the leaders of the convention wanted to guard against hasty decisions. For this reason they made the assent of two bodies necessary in drawing up laws. They also gave the President the right to veto acts of Congress, which could not then become laws unless both Houses passed them again by a majority of two-thirds. Furthermore, they wished to protect the people against the possibility that in times of excitement both President and Congress might adopt measures which would deprive a part of the people of their rights, especially of their rights of property. They had in mind such laws as had been passed in Rhode Island about paper money. This fear led the convention to give to a Supreme Court the power to guard these



JAMES MADISON
After the Gilbert Stuart portrait, Bowdoin College

rights by declaring unconstitutional acts of Congress which violated them.

An equally great change was made in the powers of the central government. To it were granted not only the right to levy taxes enough to pay its expenses, but to regulate, without interference from the state legislatures, such matters as trade. Moreover, the states were forbidden to issue paper money.

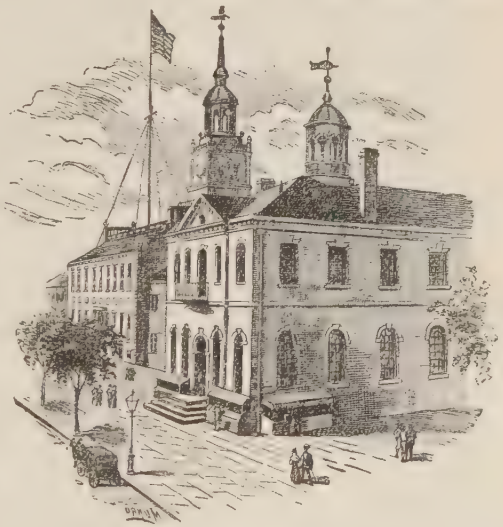
The delegates thought it better to give the choice of a President to a selected body of men, called an Electoral College, rather than provide that the President should be chosen directly by the people. They also decided that senators should be chosen by the legislatures of the states. Members of the House of Representatives were the only officers to be chosen directly by the people.

The Compromises of the Constitution. — It was very difficult to come to an agreement about the manner of making up the two Houses of Congress. Men from the larger states like Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, thought that their states should have more representatives than small states. But the small states did not wish to be ruled by their larger neighbors. A New Jersey delegate said that he would not submit the welfare of his state with five votes to a Congress in which Virgina had sixteen. Wilson of Pennsylvania just as emphatically called it absurd to give New Jersey with a population of 175,000 as many votes as Pennsylvania, which had more than twice as many people, or Delaware with less than 60,000 as many as Virginia, which had a population ten times as great. Nearly five weeks passed before they settled the question.

Franklin showed them a way out. "When," he said, "a broad table is to be made, and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both, and makes a good joint. In like manner here both sides must part with some of their demands." According to the plan finally adopted each state, large or small, should have two senators, while its number of representatives depended upon the size of its population.

Massachusetts, for example, was granted eight members in the House of Representatives, Virginia ten, Delaware one, and Maryland six.

Many similar bargains were made in the course of the debates. There was, as one writer says, a "whole bundle" of compromises agreed to while making the Constitution. Franklin wanted to have a Congress of one House and to fix the term of President at seven years, denying him a second term. These proposals and many others were voted down.



Congress Hall, Philadelphia
National Capitol in 1790–1800

The People accept the Work of the Convention. — The people of the states accepted the work of the convention, though not without weeks of discussion and opposition. Most of the small states thought the Constitution favorable to their interests. Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia ratified it with enthusiasm. Ratification came only after a long, hard fight in Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York. Rhode Island and North Carolina at first refused to join the other states. Eleven states accepted the new Constitution, and went to work "to form a more perfect union." [1]

[1] The provision in the Constitution that it should go into effect as soon as nine states agreed to it was revolutionary, because according to the Articles of Confederation any change in the government required the consent of all the states.

George Washington, First President, 1789–97. — The Congress of the Confederation appointed March 4, 1789, for beginning the new government, and New York as the temporary capital. Electors, chosen in five [1] of the states by the legislatures, and in the others by the people, voted unanimously for Washington as the first President. They chose John Adams as Vice President. It was long after March 4 before Congress was organized and Washington was officially notified of his election. On April 30 he took the oath of office and read his inaugural address to the two Houses of Congress assembled in Federal Hall. It was a day of great rejoicing. In the morning crowds attended services in the churches to pray for the welfare of the new government and the safety of the President. Bonfires and illuminations at night ended the celebration.

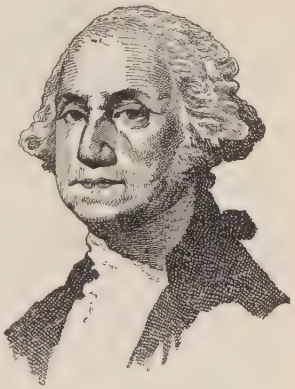
Washington's Helpers. — Washington's first task was to select his advisers. Congress provided for a Secretary of State to conduct foreign correspondence, a Secretary of the Treasury to manage money matters, and a Secretary of War to direct the army of only 600 men. The offices of Attorney-General to advise the President on matters of law and Postmaster-General to care for the small postal business of the country were created. Neither of these was looked upon as an important department. Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury, and Henry Knox Secretary of War. John Jay was made Chief-Justice of the new Supreme Court.

Formation of the Cabinet. — Each secretary had his own work to do. In England such officers together formed a "Cabinet" or special body of advisers to the king, recommending measures of government and conducting discussions in parliament. The American Constitution said nothing about a Cabinet. Washington adopted a part of the English practice and asked the heads of departments to meet together and to advise with him upon important

[1] Rhode Island, North Carolina, and New York did not choose electors.

matters. The custom of holding Cabinet meetings with the President has been continued by Washington's successors. In this way, without a provision in the law or the Constitution, the President's Cabinet came into existence.[1]

Providing Money for National Affairs. — The most important matter at the outset was providing money to pay the national debt and the ordinary expenses of government. It had been necessary to borrow money in Holland to pay the interest on the French loans. Adams had also been obliged to borrow money there to start the new government. Congress began raising money almost at once by taxing articles imported into the United States from other countries. Such taxes, called tariffs or import duties, remained the chief source of income for the federal government. Duties were raised or lowered as more or less money was needed. From the first, manufacturers urged Congress to lay import duties on articles which were also made in the United States. This would give the American makers an advantage or "protection," as it was called. The duties in the first tariff act were low, that is, only slightly protective.



GEORGE WASHINGTON
After the portrait by Stuart

The National and State Debts. — Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, was called upon to prepare a plan for paying off the great war debt. He proposed that Congress should pay not only the money borrowed by the government from the French, the Dutch, and from American citizens, but even that borrowed by the states in their own defense. This meant that the United States would pay about $75,000,000, a huge sum for those days.

[1] Four men made up Washington's Cabinet — the three secretaries — State, Treasury, and War — and the Attorney-General.

There was not much difference of opinion about paying back the money which the United States had borrowed, but many objected to paying the debts of the states. Some states like Virginia had already paid a part of their debt. They objected to a plan by which their citizens would have to aid other states. Besides, some men preferred that the states, rather than the United States, should receive the credit which would come from honorable payment of the Revolutionary debts.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON
After Trumbull's portrait, Metropolitan Museum, New York

Another Compromise. — It happened that Congress had to select a place for a permanent capital. The members of Congress from the southern states wanted this to be located on the Potomac. The members from Pennsylvania wanted it at Philadelphia. Other members of Congress did not care where the capital should be located, but were anxious to carry through Hamilton's plan of paying the state debts. Hamilton and Jefferson, representing different sides, struck a bargain. Hamilton agreed to persuade several northern Congressmen to vote to locate the capital for ten years at Philadelphia and then permanently on the Potomac River; Jefferson, in turn, promised to find several southern members to support Hamilton's plan about state debts. The bargain was carried out.

Internal Revenue Taxes. — Hamilton persuaded Congress to tax whisky manufactured in the United States. This was called an internal revenue or excise tax. The government needed the money, and Hamilton thought it well to accustom the people to the idea of taxes collected in different parts of the country. He believed that a government, like a man, grows strong by exercising every power.

The levy of this tax soon gave the government an opportunity to show whether it was strong. Many persons in western Pennsylvania owned small distilleries and made whisky out of their surplus rye, corn, and wheat. When the Spaniards closed the Mississippi, the western settlers could no longer send their grain to market by water. It could be sent across the mountains only at great expense unless distilled into whisky. They were angry at the tax on their chief product and drove away the collectors. When the governor of Pennsylvania would not put down the disorder, Washington sent to the seat of trouble an army made up of militia from the neighboring states. The "Whisky Rebellion" ended without actual fighting, and resistance to the collectors ceased.

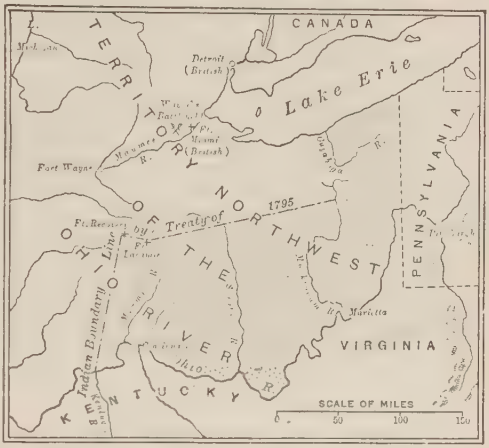
THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, PHILADELPHIA

A Mint and a National Bank. — By Hamilton's advice a mint was established, and the coinage of silver and gold begun. His plan to create a Bank of the United States met with more opposition. England had had such a bank for a century. It had been of great use in several ways, but chiefly in helping the government when it needed to borrow large amounts of money. In Holland the Bank of Amsterdam had been equally useful. When Hamilton proposed a similar bank for the United States, many opposed the scheme for fear that it would be so powerful that it would control all business. Congress, however, finally authorized the Bank, to do business for twenty years, and subscribed one-fifth of the money that was required for its organization.

Rival Leaders in Washington's Cabinet. — In carrying out Hamilton's plans Congress made use of powers not given to it expressly in the Constitution. Hamilton argued that Congress should provide for the general welfare of the country. Jefferson opposed Hamilton's plans in the Cabinet meetings and outside. Washington sympathized rather more with Hamilton, but preferred not to take sides with either. The fact was that the two great leaders held very different views of government. Hamilton was bent on securing a strong government which could maintain order at all times. He distrusted the ability of the masses of the people to take an intelligent part in government, and accordingly believed that the government should be carried on by men of property and education. Jefferson, on the other hand, sincerely believing that all men are equal, was determined that the few should not rule the many. He thought that all the people would in the end prove wiser than any part of them, however well-meaning and intelligent. Under the influence of Jefferson and Hamilton the citizens of the new republic were soon grouped in two political parties. Hamilton's followers were commonly called Federalists, because of their belief in a strong federal or national government. The Jeffersonians were called Democrats or Republicans because of their faith in the people. The Democrats naturally looked to the states rather than the United States as the governments which must be relied upon. They were sure that Hamilton aimed at changing the government into a monarchy, and even went so far as to attack Washington bitterly for leaning toward Hamilton's ideas on government.

Anthony Wayne

The New Government and the Ohio Country. — The advantages of a strong government, such as Washington and his advisers were organizing, soon became apparent in another way. Hardly had Marietta been founded before a new Indian war broke out, in which the governor of the Northwest Territory was badly defeated. The new government raised another and better army and supplied it with necessary war supplies. Washington gave the command to General Anthony Wayne, whom his soldiers liked to call "Mad Anthony" for his bravery, but whom the Indians called the "chief that never sleeps" for his ceaseless energy. Wayne defeated the Indians decisively and compelled them to give up nearly all of what is now the state of Ohio. After this it was not so dangerous to emigrate to the West, and the number of settlers increased rapidly.



THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY AFTER WAYNE'S VICTORY

The part given by the Indians is shaded; that kept by the Indians is white

By 1800 four hundred thousand people lived west of the mountains. So many lived in Kentucky that in 1792 it was admitted to the union of states on the same terms as the original thirteen. Four years later, in 1796, Tennessee was made the sixteenth state.[1] Ohio was added in 1803, and the remainder of the Northwest Territory was soon divided into Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois Territories.

[1] Vermont, the fourteenth state, had been admitted in 1791.

Questions

1. What disputes finally convinced men that a stronger government was needed? Who were the leaders in calling the convention at Philadelphia?

2. What great obstacle was there to the success of the convention? How long did the delegates work in framing the new government?

3. What three branches of government did the new Constitution provide? What new powers, not possessed by Congress under the Articles of Confederation, were now given to the central government?

4. Why did the delegates not give the choice of President and senators to the people directly? What compromise was made in order to adjust the chief difference between the large and small states?

5. How many states accepted the work of the convention?

6. When was the new government organized? Who became the President and Vice-President? Whom did Washington choose as his advisers? Where did Washington get the idea of a Cabinet?

7. How did Congress, under the advice of Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, provide for the expenses of government? Why did Hamilton wish the United States to pay the state debts as well as the general debts? Why did many citizens oppose this part of his plan? What compromise was adopted in Congress to settle the difference of opinion over state debts and the capital?

8. Why did Hamilton want Congress to create a Bank of the United States? Where had the plan worked well? What objections were made?

9. What views did Hamilton and Jefferson hold regarding government? What party names did their followers take?

10. In what way was the new and stronger government beneficial to the western settlers? What new states were added to the Union?

Exercises

1. Review in Chapter XVIII the reasons for abandoning the Articles of Confederation for an entirely new frame of government.

2. Make a table showing the area and population of the thirteen states and group them as large and small states with regard to population. (See Appendix, page x.)

3. Are senators and the President still elected in the manner originally provided in the Constitution?

4. What heads of departments now form the President's Cabinet?

Important Dates:

1787. The Constitutional Convention meets in Philadelphia.

1789. The new Constitution goes into effect, and Washington becomes President.

CHAPTER XX

THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

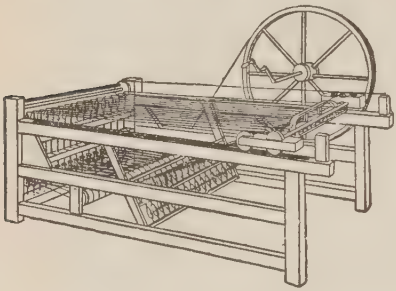
Two New Revolutions. — While the people of the United States were busy completing the new framework of government, two revolutions on the other side of the Atlantic began to influence them deeply. The first, in England, called the Industrial Revolution, introduced new and quicker ways of making cloth, iron, steel, and many other things. The Americans naturally were eager to learn the new methods in order to succeed in manufacturing. The second revolution was in France, and seemed to be a struggle for the kind of liberty and equality which the Americans already enjoyed. It therefore appealed strongly to their sympathies. But when it led to a terrible war, in which France was arrayed against England and Europe, American sympathies were divided. This was especially true after the French as well as the English began to interfere with American trade.

Spinning and Weaving. — The first change made in England was in the method of preparing cotton or woolen yarn and of weaving it into cloth. The story is told that James Hargreaves, an English weaver, entered his house one day so suddenly that his wife, startled, upset her spinning-wheel. Hargreaves noticed that the wheel kept on turning as it lay on the floor, and he wondered why he could not construct a wheel in such a manner that it would turn several spindles and spin several threads at once. He succeeded in making a machine which could spin eight threads, and named it a "spinning jenny" in honor of his wife. This was in 1764.

Hargreaves did not keep his secret long, and soon other machines were made, spinning 20 and 30 threads. The most successful maker of spinning machines was Richard Arkwright, who after 1769 made and sold great numbers of them.

The good points of both kinds of machines were soon combined in a "mule spinner," which was in common use by the close of the Revolutionary War.

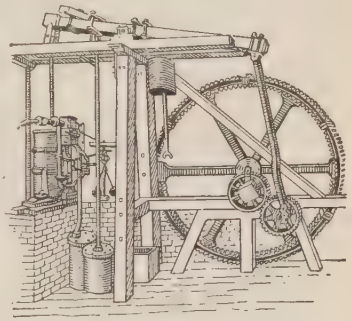
Before these spinning machines were invented, weavers often were unable to obtain yarn enough to supply their looms. Now yarn was spun much faster than it was needed. The balance was restored by the power-loom, another great invention. A clergyman, Edmund Cartwright, invented a machine, which was run by power, for weaving the yarn into cloth. This soon began to displace the hand-looms. The power was furnished at first by horses or water-wheels.



HARGREAVES'S SPINNING JENNY
After an old print

The Steam-Engine. — About the same time James Watt invented the steam-engine. Men had dreamed for ages of using the steam which escaped from a boiling kettle for driving machinery. Hero, a Greek inventor of Alexandria in Egypt, more than one hundred years before Christ, attached bent pipes to a boiler so that escaping steam caused the pipes to revolve in the same way as lawn sprinklers turn by the flow of water. Watt showed how to introduce the steam first at one end of a cylinder and then at the other, so as to drive a piston back and forth. His engine was able to furnish more power than a very large number of horses, and could be used where water-wheels could not be set up, and could take the place of the water-wheels when the rivers were low. Watt began to manufacture his engines in 1781. Eight years later Cartwright, who had been using an ox to drive his power-loom, adopted one of Watt's engines. The introduction of the steam-engine made it necessary for spinning and weaving to be carried on in places where coal for fuel was easily obtained.

Factories. — These inventions led to the building of mills or factories. Hitherto spinning and weaving had been household industries. Women had often done the spinning in their leisure time. In some country districts whole families had spent the long winter evenings spinning yarn to sell to some weaver or to use in the family loom. The ordinary family or skilled weaver did not have money enough to buy the new machines, nor a house large enough to hold them. Therefore, men with money built the factories, bought the machines, and paid spinners and weavers to run them. Many weavers still lived at home and tried to make cloth in the old way. But the cost of making cloth with the new machinery was so small that weavers with hand looms found it hard to earn a living. Angry at the loss of their business, they sometimes rushed into the factories and broke the new machines. The change in the place of making cloth from the household to the factory is usually described as a change from the "domestic" to the "factory" system.



WATT'S STEAM-ENGINE

Coal, Iron, and Steel. — Two changes in the manner of making iron and steel were equally important. The older furnaces had used charcoal, and as the supply of charcoal began to give out, the English makers of iron and steel implements imported pig iron from the American colonies or from northern Europe. In 1760 an Englishman made a blast-furnace in which coal could be used, and thirty years later manufacturers began to use steam-engines to cause the blast. The result was a growth in the production of iron and steel as rapid as the growth in the production of cloth had been. This drew many workmen from the villages to the towns, especially in the coal regions where the new furnaces were constructed.

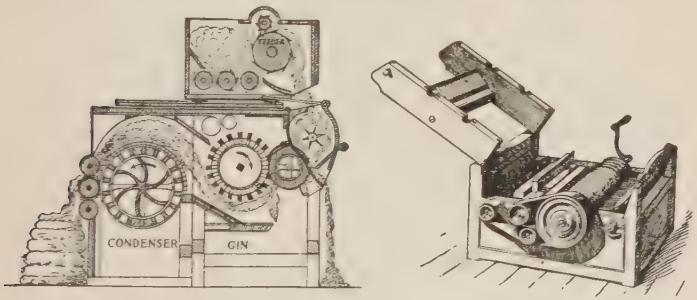
The Americans and the New Inventions. — Americans did not wait for the new machine methods of making cloth to be fully improved before they began to use them. The English government realized the advantage that the inventions gave to English manufacturers and merchants, and forbade either the machines or plans of them to be sent out of the country. Parliament even tried to prevent the emigration of those who knew how to work with the new inventions. The Americans, however, found ways of obtaining the needed information and constructed the machines themselves.

A spinning jenny was at work in Philadelphia in the year the Revolutionary War broke out, eleven years after Hargreaves had invented it. Three years after the close of the war a mill for spinning cotton yarn was built at Beverly, Massachusetts. Bounties or rewards were offered for the introduction of English machinery. Samuel Slater, a workman in one of Arkwright's mills, heard of the bounty and emigrated to America. In order to avoid the heavy penalties for carrying away models or plans of such machinery, he was obliged to store his memory with a knowledge of every part of the machine. At Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1789, he succeeded in furnishing a mill with the new spinning machinery. A French traveler was surprised to find that Arkwright's spinning machines were not only well known, but made in the United States.

At Slater's mill, as in England, women and even boys and girls were employed. In a short time the machinery was so improved that one worker could tend 300 spindles and do as much as 300 girls with the old spinning wheels. Others were slow to imitate Slater, for in the next fifteen years only four mills were built. Most of the spinning and all of the weaving in the United States was still done at home on the spinning-wheels and hand-looms.

Whitney's Cotton-Gin. — The new way of making cotton yarn greatly increased the demand for raw cotton. People in Georgia began to raise more. In 1786 the Georgians introduced " sea-island " or long-fiber cotton, which hitherto had

been brought from South America or the West Indies. Short-fiber cotton was raised on the uplands in the interior. From 1789 to 1791 the production doubled. The great obstacle to success in the cotton trade was the difficulty with which the seed was separated from the fiber. A slave could clean only five or six pounds a day. Eli Whitney, a graduate of Yale College, who became a teacher in Georgia, resolved to construct a machine which could do this work faster. He succeeded in inventing a cotton-gin, which drew



Improved model Whitney's model

COTTON-GINS

the fibers through wires by means of cylinders covered with teeth. The new machine run by horse-power could clean 300 pounds of cotton a day. The production of cotton which amounted to 2,000,000 pounds in 1791, was 48,000,000 pounds ten years later.

Cotton and Slavery. — Another consequence of the growing importance of cotton raising was a change of feeling in regard to slavery. Soon after the Revolution, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as well as the states farther north, began to free their slaves and to forbid slavery within their borders. They found such a system of labor unprofitable where farming could not be carried on by the methods of the plantation. Several of the southern states were already planning similar action. But the invention of the cotton-gin and the demand of the factories for cotton stopped all talk of this in the cotton-growing states.

The French Revolution. — All these changes were important, but they went on so quietly that few men understood how great the industrial revolution was. Most men's attention was attracted by another kind of revolution going on in France. Ever since the American Revolution Frenchmen had eagerly asked one another how they too might have more liberty. One of their great writers declared, "Man is born free, and is everywhere in chains." Those who believed this were eager to break the chains and make men free again. Louis XVI, the French king, was well-meaning, but he did not have energy enough to make the laws fair and just to all.

The great trouble in France was that the rich and the nobles had managed to lay the heaviest burdens upon the shoulders of the farmers. Three-quarters of the people were peasant farmers, but that was no reason why they should pay nine-tenths of the taxes. The poorer townspeople were not much better off. The refusal of the upper classes to bear their share of the burdens left the government without income enough to pay its expenses and its debts. The aid given to the United States had added about $300,000,000 to the French national debt. When the government could do nothing to prevent bankruptcy a States-General or National Assembly was called together to prepare ways of avoiding such a calamity. This body met in May, 1789, five days after Washington was inaugurated. Lafayette was one of the members. He and other leaders of the assembly resolved that France also should have a constitution which would protect the rights of the people and which would distribute the burdens of the country more equally.

Civil War in France. — Many of the nobles, especially the courtiers, were angry to see their privileges destroyed. Other men thought that the National Assembly made many changes which were wrong. Within two years France was divided into two parties, one for and the other against the Revolution. Its supporters called themselves patriots, like the leaders of the Revolution in America in 1775. They hated their oppo-

nents just as the American patriots hated the Tories or Loyalists.

In 1792 civil war broke out in France, and soon afterward Louis XVI was dethroned and executed as an enemy of the Revolution. By this time the earlier leaders, like Lafayette, had lost their influence. Lafayette had even been driven into exile. Quarrels with Austria and Prussia had also led to war. The execution of the king added England, Holland, and Spain to the list of enemies. France seemed arrayed against all the governments of Europe.

The United States and France. — Many Americans, among them prominent Federalists, now concluded that France had gone too far. Others, especially the followers of Jefferson, still believed that the French were fighting in the cause of liberty. In consequence the French Revolution increased party strife in the United States.

As soon as war broke out between France and England, the French expected the Americans to take their side, out of gratitude for the help given ten years before. The treaty of 1778 also pledged the Americans to defend the French West Indies. It seemed doubtful to Washington whether the Americans should be dragged into a war which the French had brought upon themselves. He decided to hold aloof and to act in a manner friendly toward all.

In April, 1793, Genet, a new French minister, landed in the United States and tried to induce American privateersmen to help France destroy English merchant vessels on the coast. Many Americans were glad to see blows struck at England, and criticized Washington severely when he put a stop to Genet's attempts to draw the country into the war with England. Fortunately the French government soon sent over another minister.

Disputes about Trade. — The war raised other more serious difficulties. The ships of England and France were obliged to charge higher prices for carrying freight, because they were in constant danger of loss by capture. This gave a great advantage to the ship-owners of a neutral nation, like the

United States, who could still charge the ordinary rates. Neither England nor France was willing to see American merchants take away a large part of their trade on the sea. "If our trade is lost," they argued, "where shall we get money to pay taxes, and without taxes we cannot support armies and navies, and may as well confess ourselves beaten."

Of course neutrals were not allowed to carry either to England or France things like powder which could be used in warfare. Why should not the trade in wheat also be stopped, for soldiers must have bread as well as powder? So the English thought, and they seized American ships loaded with wheat bound for France, ordering the cargoes sold in English ports. England also objected when the American shipmasters attempted to carry sugar and coffee from the French West Indies to Europe.[1]

The people of the United States were almost ready for war with Great Britain on account of such quarrels over trade. Their anger was increased when British naval officers seized Englishmen on board American vessels and compelled them to serve in the navy. By Englishmen these officers meant any one born in England, whether he had been naturalized in the United States or not. They held the notion that, "Once an Englishman always an Englishman."

The Jay Treaty. To save the country from war Washington sent Chief-Justice Jay to England to settle all disputes between the two countries, including those which remained after the treaty of peace in 1783. Jay was only partly success-

[1] The French were giving the American ships unusual privileges of trade with the West Indies, because their own ships were liable to capture, and the merchants in France desired to obtain the coffee and sugar raised in the colonies. The English, however, declared that the Americans could not take advantage of the French offers, because they were due wholly to the war, and were simply methods by which the French sought to save their planters as well as many of their merchants from ruin. The Americans had traded with the French West Indies before war began and, therefore, the English had no right to stop all such trade. England later paid damages for seizing during the quarrel several hundred American ships trading in the West Indies.

ful. The English agreed to withdraw their garrisons from the northern frontier posts. They would make no promises about neutral commerce and impressment. The concession they offered concerning the trade with the British West Indies was so slight that the Americans preferred to have none. All Washington's influence was required to persuade the Senate to ratify the treaty, even with that article left out.

The Mississippi Question. — In 1795 a satisfactory treaty was signed with Spain, making it possible for western settlers to float their products down the Mississippi and store them in a "place of deposit" at New Orleans, so that they might be loaded there upon sea-going ships.

JOHN JAY
After the portrait by Gilbert Stuart

The French and Jay's Treaty. — When the French heard of Jay's treaty they were angry and declared the alliance of 1778 at an end. They also threatened to treat American vessels trading with Great Britain and her colonies exactly as the United States permitted the British to treat American vessels trading with France and her colonies. The partisans of France were very bitter toward Washington. The merchants were relieved when the danger of war with England was gone, but the great mass of the people outside the coast towns ardently supported the French and hated the English.

Change of Administration in the United States. — By 1797 Washington had served two terms as President. He decided not to permit his name to go before the electors again. In his farewell address he urged his fellow countrymen "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." He now retired to Mount Vernon, where he died two years later.

In the electoral college there was a lively struggle over his successor. The quarrel over Jay's treaty still excited the Jeffersonians and the Federalists. John Adams, Vice-President since 1789, was the Federalist candidate, while the Republicans desired Jefferson. Adams won by three votes, and Jefferson became Vice-President.[1]

Troubles with France. — Adams had been in office only a few months when the country was on the point of declaring war against the French because of seizures of American ships for violating their war decrees. The government of France was now bankrupt. Its ordinary expenses were paid by money which victorious generals like Napoleon Bonaparte sent to Paris from conquered lands. When Adams sent commissioners to France to settle these cases, the French officials not only demanded a loan of millions for the government, but they asked for $250,000 for their own pockets. The commissioners replied that they should not have a sixpence. The news of this insulting treatment filled most Americans with indignation, although some Republicans thought insults the proper way of treating the Adams administration. Congress met the situation by providing for the construction of several war ships and by authorizing them, and merchant ships as well, to attack French ships in defense of American commerce.

A Treaty with France. — Fortunately for America, the French government was changed in 1799 and Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, became its head. He saw no object in prolonging the quarrel with the Americans, and signed a treaty ending the difficulties. The quarrel had interfered little with the trade of American merchants in the West Indies. They were busy carrying West India coffee and sugar to Europe. To comply with the English rules they must first bring the cargoes to the United States, unload them, and pay import duties as if they were to be sold in the

[1] The Constitution originally provided that the candidate receiving next to the highest number of votes in the electoral college should be Vice-President.

United States. The cargoes could then be put on the same ships, the duties paid back, and the ships could sail for European ports without risk of capture. Before the war between England and France the United States exported to Europe only about one million pounds of sugar and two million pounds of coffee each year. Within four years the amount of sugar had risen to 35,000,000 pounds and that of coffee to 62, 000,000 pounds. It seemed, therefore, that the misfortunes of France were as profitable to American merchants as English inventions to American manufacturers.

Questions

1. What two revolutions in Europe deeply influenced the United States? Which impressed the American people the more? Why was the industrial revolution very important?

2. What new inventions changed the method of manufacturing in England? How did these machines affect the work of the house? Why did the hand weavers lose their work?

3. What two changes took place in iron and steel manufacture? Where were the iron workers obliged to go?

4. Which one of the new inventions was quickly introduced into the United States? Who tended the spindles in Slater's mill?

5. What invention helped the South to produce enough cotton for the new factories in England and the United States? How did the demand for cotton influence the migration westward? What effect had it on the talk of freeing the slaves?

6. How did the American Revolution affect Frenchmen? What were the chief causes of the Revolution in France? Why did some oppose the changes in France? What larger war resulted from the French Revolution?

7. What did Americans think of the French war? Why did some want to help France? Why did Washington and his advisers decide not to help France?

8. What did Genet attempt to do? What advantage did American shipmasters have in trade over the English and French? How did the English try to deprive them of this advantage? Under what conditions did England allow them to carry French sugar and coffee to Europe?

9. What other trouble did the United States have with Great Britain? How much did Jay's treaty obtain in the way of concessions from England?

10. How was the Mississippi question finally settled?

11. What did the French do when they heard of Jay's treaty with

England? What did France do which brought the United States and France to the verge of a great war?

12. Why were the wars of France and the inventions of England both profitable for many Americans?

Exercises

1. Describe the method of making cloth before the industrial revolution. If possible first visit a museum where the hand machines formerly used may be seen.

2. If possible visit a cotton or woolen mill and learn about the various stages in making cloth today.

3. Tell the story of the invention of Hargreaves's spinning jenny.

4. Tell the story of how Samuel Slater introduced the spinning machinery into the United States.

5. Tell the story of Eli Whitney's cotton-gin.

6. Review in Chapter XVIII the way in which American merchants had secured a profitable trade in the West Indies in 1785 and 1786. What trouble had they over this trade during the war between England and France?

7. Review in Chapter XVIII the early history of the Mississippi question. Who were naturally greatly pleased by the final settlement?

Important Events:

1789. Samuel Slater sets up a spinning mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The French Revolution begins.

1793. Eli Whitney invents the cotton-gin.

CHAPTER XXI

RULE OF JEFFERSON: A NEW WEST

Jefferson elected President. — In 1800 a new election took place. The Federalists had guided the country safely past the dangers of war with Great Britain and France, but their rule had become unpopular. They stood for strong government and high taxes. Now that Washington was dead, the Federalists quarrelled among themselves. Hamilton criticized Adams publicly, but could not prevent his nomination. The Republicans nominated Jefferson, who was very popular except in New England and among the merchants of the coast towns. Jefferson was victorious, obtaining 73 electoral votes, while Adams received 65.[1]

The New Capital. — One of the last acts of the Federalists was to move the seat of government from Philadelphia to Washington, the new capital on the Potomac. The city was located in a tract of land ten miles square, called the District of Columbia, which had been given to the United States by Virginia and Maryland.[2] It was laid out on a spacious plan, its wide streets, large parks, and gardens taking up more than half the ground. Little had been done by 1800. A row of dreary boarding-houses, a partly finished capitol building for Congress, a President's house — these were all. The streets were ungraded, and ran through vast patches of scrubby oak, wild ravines, and marshy river flats. Many made fun of it as a city of magnificent distances, or

[1] Jefferson and his Republican "running-mate," Aaron Burr, received the same number of votes, and the House of Representatives chose Jefferson President and Burr Vice-President. An amendment was adopted in 1804 which required the electors to vote separately for President and Vice-President.

[2] In 1846 Congress returned Virginia's part, south of the Potomac, because it was not needed.

the seat of the President's "palace in the woods." It seemed a dreary place to the members of Congress accustomed to the gay life of Philadelphia.

The New President. — The new President was more interesting than the new capital. In appearance he was tall, of a reddish complexion, freckled, awkward, and shy in manner. An English traveler said that he looked like a "large-boned farmer." Although a great landowner and planter in Virginia, he was a man of simple habits. He disliked the ceremonial with which Washington had surrounded the duties of the President. Instead of proceeding to the capitol building for his inauguration in a coach drawn

WASHINGTON FROM THE POTOMAC IN 1801

From an engraving by R. Phillips

by six cream-colored horses, as Adams had done, he walked across the square from his boarding-house accompanied by a few friends and escorted by the militia.

When Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence "that all men are born equal," he meant every word. Like the early leaders of the French Revolution, many of whom were his friends, he thought men, especially the "plain people," were inclined to do right and could be trusted. He believed that the people should be left to govern themselves in their towns, counties, and states with as little interference from the central government as possible. He would have every man vote who earned a living, instead of limiting the privilege to property holders, as in most of the older states.

Jefferson was already famous. He had been governor of Virginia and minister to France after Franklin's return. In Virginia he had not only carried through laws dividing a father's estate equally among all the children, but he had also brought it about that every one should be free to attend and support the church he preferred or none at all. In other words, he established religious freedom in Virginia. It was his ambition to organize a complete system of education, beginning with the elementary school and ending with a university. He also wished to free children born of negro slaves, and thus gradually bring slavery in Virginia to an end. He said he wanted "equal and exact justice for all men" and "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations." It is no wonder that many thought his election a great event, the promise of better things for all people.

THOMAS JEFFERSON
After a portrait by Gilbert Stuart

An Economical Administration. — As soon as Jefferson became President, he worked to lessen the expenses of the government. The army was reduced from 4,000 to 2,500 men. This could be done because the danger of war was over for the time. The same reason made possible economies in the navy, which Jefferson believed "caused more dangers than it prevented." In his management of the finances he had the assistance of Albert Gallatin, an able Secretary of the Treasury, who in his youth had emigrated to America from Switzerland. Within eight years a third of the public debt was paid.

Purchase of Louisiana. — Jefferson, however, was ready to spend money for a great purpose. In 1803 he had an unexpected opportunity to purchase the vast territory of

Louisiana, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico into the far northwest to the Rocky Mountains. It came about in this way. One of the ambitions of Napoleon Bonaparte, the First Consul of France, was to reëstablish the French colonial empire destroyed by England in the Seven Years' War. In 1798, two years before he became First Consul, he had been sent to Egypt, which the French thought would be a good half-way station to India. Although he conquered Egypt, he

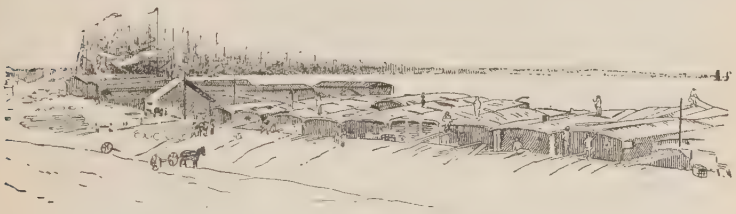
THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

was obliged to abandon it because his fleet was beaten by an English fleet under Lord Nelson, and he could get no further help from home. In 1802 France and England made peace, and General Bonaparte resolved to recover part of the territory that the French had once held in the Mississippi Valley. He had already compelled the Spaniards to promise to turn over Louisiana to France as soon as he should be ready to occupy it.

Just here trouble came. Bonaparte thought that he should first recover Santo Domingo, a rich colony in the West Indies in which the slaves had risen in an insurrection and chosen a negro general, Toussaint L'Ouverture, as their ruler.

Bonaparte's officers seized Toussaint L'Ouverture, but other leaders took his place and kept up the struggle. Soon yellow fever broke out in the French army and the soldiers died by thousands. When Bonaparte heard the news, he realized the difficulties of his enterprise. He was also on the verge of another war with Great Britain. He was therefore ready to get rid of Louisiana.

Spain's agreement to cede Louisiana to France had been kept a secret, but Jefferson suspected it soon after he became President. Possession of this colony by Spain, which was



THE REASON FOR THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

The flatboats in the foreground have brought the produce of the western people to New Orleans. The ships in the background are waiting to take the products to foreign markets. The power which held New Orleans had the West at its mercy. From Hall's *Etchings in America.*

growing weaker year by year, had no terrors for the Americans, but possession by France, under such a leader as Bonaparte, was another affair. The western settlers feared for their river trade, which already formed more than a fourth of the commerce of the United States. Their alarm was changed to a certainty of impending ruin when, in 1802, the Spanish *intendant* or governor at New Orleans refused to allow Americans to deposit their goods in New Orleans. Western farmers had no wish to leave their products to decay in their sheds and fields. They talked of war, and the militia of frontier towns began to drill so as to be ready in case war should come.

Jefferson, like Washington, had always been greatly interested in the prosperity of the West, but he did not wish to go

to war with France. He thought that the best way was to buy New Orleans outright. When the American minister offered to buy New Orleans he was asked, "What will you give for the whole of Louisiana?" Napoleon needed money for the war with England which seemed certain. Besides, he was shrewd enough to know that England's superior navy would enable her to take Louisiana anyway and preferred to sell what he could not hope to keep.

THE OLD CABILDO OF NEW ORLEANS
In this the official transfer of Louisiana by France to the United States took place

A price, $15,000,000, was easily fixed, and the bargain completed. It was a strange transaction. Napoleon had no right to sell Louisiana without the consent of Spain and his own assembly in France. Spain vainly protested that the sale of Louisiana to America was illegal.[1] Many Frenchmen also were bitterly disappointed. For a second time they were obliged to abandon the attempt to create a New France in North America.

Did the President have Power to purchase Louisiana? — In America there were quarrels over the purchase of Louisiana. Even the President doubted at first whether the Constitution gave him power to acquire any territory. He had

[1] An agent of France on November 30, 1803, received Louisiana from the Spanish governor, and 17 days later turned it over to the United States.

in times past denounced Washington and Adams and the whole Federalist party for using powers which were not expressly given to them in the Constitution. And now he and his own party were doing the same thing in annexing Louisiana. But Jefferson concluded that the welfare of the country was more important than his earlier notions about the powers of the government.

How little was known of Louisiana. — Many thought that the price Jefferson paid for the new territory, which was at the rate of three cents an acre, was too high. They believed

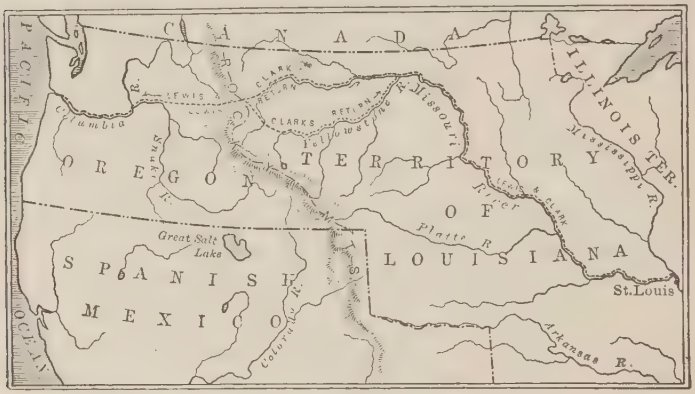
St Louis in 1800
From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*

much of the land to be worthless. Even the President had an idea that the part east of the Mississippi was mostly barren sands and sunken marshes. This he wanted only because it contained the mouths of rivers like the Mississippi and the Mobile. As for the rest of Louisiana, that was purchased somewhat as boys trade jack-knives, "sight unseen." The greater part was the hunting ground of scattered, roving Indian bands. No white man knew anything definite about its size, its boundaries, or its resources.

The Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the United States and extended it into the very heart of the continent. This single territory formed an area larger than Great Britain, France, Spain, Germany, and Italy taken together.

Thirteen states and parts of states have been formed from it and admitted into the Union.

In 1803 the white settlers were clustered along the river near the mouth of the Mississippi. New Orleans was the chief town. The rivers were the highways, boats the carriers, and so for convenience the plantations usually fronted on the rivers, as in early Virginia and the Carolinas. Most of the people were French or the negro slaves of French masters. Two or three small French villages, including St.



LEWIS AND CLARK'S ROUTE

Louis, were located far up the Mississippi River, but the settlers were chiefly the trappers and Indian traders who always hung on the frontier of French settlements in America. A few emigrants from the United States had already pushed into this foreign colony. Daniel Boone, finding neighbors too numerous in Kentucky, was trapping and farming on the Missouri River, near its mouth. The upper courses of the Arkansas, the Missouri, and the Mississippi were wholly unknown. Traders and trappers told strange tales of these regions — that Indians of gigantic stature inhabited the interior; that the soil was too rich to grow trees; that a thousand miles up the Missouri existed a vast mountain "of solid rock-salt, without any trees or even shrubs on it," measuring 180 miles in length and 45 in width.

Lewis and Clark's Expedition, 1804–06. — In 1804 Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, and William Clark, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark, to explore the new territory, find a path through the mountains to the Pacific, and learn what they could of the country and its Indian tribes. Two score and five frontiersmen made up the expedition. They rowed, or with favorable winds sailed, the boats slowly up the Missouri, camping at night. They

GATES OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

So called by Lewis and Clark, who passed them July 19, 1805. The Missouri River is here confined by a spur of the Big Belt Mountains

supplied themselves with food from the wild game which abounded in the region — geese, antelope, deer, bear, elk, and enormous herds of buffalo.

The party wintered among friendly Indians near where Bismarck, the capital of North Dakota, now stands, and with small canoes pushed on up the shallower waters of the Upper Missouri. An Indian squaw, called the Bird Woman, who had been kidnapped from a mountain tribe, accompanied them from their winter camp and won for them the friendship of her kindred in the mountains. The explorers followed the course of the Missouri across North Dakota and Montana until the river separated into three branches. These were

named the Jefferson, the Madison, and the Gallatin. The expedition pushed on up the Jefferson branch until this was no longer navigable. Then they left their canoes and bought horses from the Indians, who showed them a path through the mountains. After a time they could not find game and had to kill some of their horses for food. When they reached a large river that flowed westward, they made canoes and floated down to the Columbia. They followed the Columbia

PIKE'S ROUTE

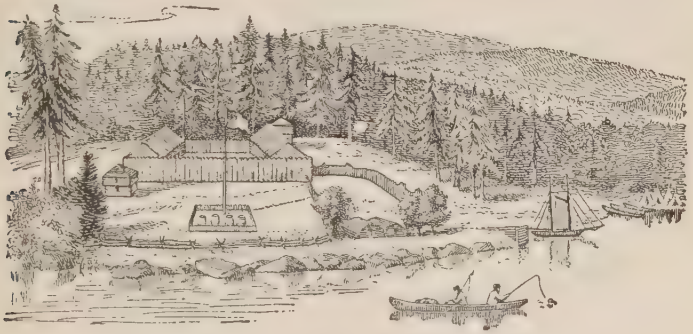
until it broadened into a bay studded with low islands, and until the roar of breakers showed them that they had reached the Pacific.

They were now 2,100 miles from St. Louis. They built log-huts and spent a second winter in the western wilderness surrounded by Indians. The return was easier, and they reached St. Louis on September 23, 1806. It was an expedition worthy to rank with that of De Soto and Coronado. One man had died and only one Indian had been killed.

Zebulon Pike. — At the same time Zebulon Pike was sent to explore other portions of Louisiana Territory. In 1805, with a few companions, he followed the Mississippi River nearly to its source. In 1806 he undertook the harder task of visiting the Indians and exploring the country along the eastern border of the Rocky Mountains. He followed the

Missouri and then the Osage River, and zigzagged across the plains of Kansas, touching once the boundary of what is now Nebraska and at another time that of Oklahoma. Pike thought that the Arkansas River valley must be a paradise for the wandering savages because of the abundance of game — buffalo, elk, and deer.

Part of the way he was close to the path that Coronado had taken from New Mexico into central Kansas 265 years



ASTORIA IN 1811

The fur traders' post of the Oregon country. After an old print

earlier. He met few Indians. In exploring the mountain front, looking for a pass, Pike found and described the Royal Gorge of the Arkansas River and the beautiful mountain peak which bears his name. The expedition suffered intensely when winter came on. At one time the members were four days without food, tramping knee-deep through snow, and loaded down with some seventy pounds of baggage apiece. The famished men finally found a herd of buffaloes. Pike wandered around in the mountains of southern Colorado until he crossed the frontier into the territory of Spain. The Spanish authorities, taking him to be a spy, seized him and carried him to Santa Fé in New Mexico. He was later taken to El Paso, but was released and found his way back to the United States in 1807.

Results of Exploration in the Far West. — The description of Louisiana by these pathfinders prepared the way for

its settlement later. At the time the American people had enough land east of the Mississippi. Even President Jefferson thought that the new country would be most useful if kept as a reservation for the Indians, who were barring the progress of settlement in the older territories. Indian trade and trapping for furs were the only chances for immediate profit from the vast region.

Oregon. — Lewis and Clark had pushed far beyond the boundaries of Louisiana and laid the basis for a claim upon the Oregon country. This meant all that territory included in the present states of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. Captain Gray, an American commander, had long before, in 1792, sailed along the Pacific coast. In 1811 John Jacob Astor established a trading post, named Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River. All these expeditions gave the United States a claim on Oregon and thus an opening for the United States to the Pacific. Astor's men soon sold the post to British fur traders. Fortunately, after the War of 1812, the United States obtained possession of Astoria, and it became again an American outpost on the Pacific.

Questions

1. Why were the Federalists defeated in the election of 1800? Who was elected President?

2. What change was made in the location of the United States capital? How did the national government secure the District of Columbia? Describe Washington in 1800.

3. Why was Jefferson popular with the "plain people"? What were his ideas of government? What had he accomplished in Virginia? What did he do to lessen the expenses of the government?

4. What was Napoleon's New World project? How did he attempt to carry this out? Why was he obliged to abandon it? Why was he ready in 1803 to get rid of Louisiana?

5. Why were Americans alarmed over the cession of Louisiana from Spain to France? How did Spain further alarm them in 1802?

6. Describe the purchase of Louisiana. What did Jefferson try to purchase? What did he actually secure? Why was this a strange thing for Napoleon and Jefferson to do?

7. What did Americans think of Louisiana? Describe the settlements which had been made there.

Claimed by the United States by discovery 1792, Columbia and Exploration 1805-1806
BRITISH AMERICA
CANADA
L. WINIPEG
LAKE OF THE WOODS
L. NIPIGON
L. SUPERIOR
QUEBEC
MONTREAL
MASS.
PORTLAND
BOSTON
TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA
Missouri R.
ILLINOIS TERRITORY
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
DETROIT
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
LAKE ERIE
ONTARIO
OSWEGO
BUFFALO
ALBANY
NEW YORK
FT. DEARBORN
FT. MIAMI
FT. WAYNE
CLEVELAND
PENNSYLVANIA
PITTSBURG
PHILADELPHIA
NEW JERSEY
BALTIMORE
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
WASHINGTON
INDIANA TER.
OHIO
COLUMBUS
CINCINNATI
VIRGINIA
CHESAPEAKE B.
NORFOLK
RICHMOND
GREAT SALT L.
Arkansas R.
ST LOUIS
KASKASKIA
FRANKFORT
KENTUCKY
Purchased from France in 1803
NASHVILLE
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
RALEIGH
SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA
WILMINGTON
SAN FRANCISCO
SANTA FE
Colorado R.
Red R.
Mississippi R.
SPANISH
Territory claimed by United States as part of Louisiana Territory
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
VICKSBURG
AUGUSTA
GEORGIA
CHARLESTON
SAVANNAH
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
SAN DIEGO
Rio Grande
Gulf of California
PACIFIC
OCEAN
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
ORLEANS TERRITORY
BELIZE SEIZED BY U.S. 1814-1862
NEW ORLEANS
SPANISH FLORIDA
ST. AUGUSTINE
MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
1810-1812
BAHAMA ISLANDS
J. PETERS & SON ENGRS., BOSTON
Longitude West 97 from Greenwich
127
117
107
97
87
77
67
46
35
25

8. Whom did Jefferson send to explore Louisiana? Describe the journeys of these famous explorers.

9. How did Jefferson think the United States could best use the new territory? Why was he anxious to move the Indians westward?

10. What country besides Louisiana did Lewis and Clark explore? What claims had the United States on Oregon? What other nation now also claimed Oregon?

Exercises

1. Review Chapters XIX and XX for a list of things accomplished by the Federalists.

2. Review the exploration of Coronado in the Southwest. See page 10 or *Introductory American History*, Chapter XVII.

3. Trace on an outline map the journeys of Lewis and Clark and of Pike, making a list of the present states which they touched.

4. Which country, the United States or Spain, had the greater part of the territory west of the Mississippi River after the purchase of Louisiana? (See map, page 230.) What must both do next if they were to hold the territories they claimed?

Important Dates:

1801. Thomas Jefferson becomes President.
1803. Louisiana purchased from France.
1804–1806. Lewis and Clark explore Louisiana and Oregon.

SCENE ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER
Showing Mount Hood

CHAPTER XXII

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

Turmoil again in Europe. — A month after the United States bought Louisiana from Napoleon, war broke out between France and England. This war was in reality a continuation of the war which had been waged from 1793 until 1802. It did not end until 1814. If the first war had given American merchants an opportunity to carry a large part of the freight between the West Indies and Europe, the new war seemed likely to be still more profitable, because all European countries except Turkey were finally drawn into it.

European War and the United States. — Could the Americans keep out of a struggle which, like a terrible whirlpool, might engulf those who appeared to be at a safe distance? Their experience during the war which began in 1793 showed the danger. All the influence of Washington had been needed to keep them from attacking the English in 1794. In the new war their self-restraint was due to the influence of President Jefferson and of President Madison, who succeeded him in 1809.[1] Nevertheless they were finally drawn into the struggle. The War of 1812 was the consequence.

The War at first a Duel between France and England. — From 1803 to 1805 the contest was between the English and the French. It was almost as if an elephant should try to attack a whale. The French army was the best in Europe. It was commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte, the greatest general of modern times, whom the French proclaimed their

[1] In 1804 Jefferson was overwhelmingly reëlected. In the election four years later Jefferson supported his Secretary of State, James Madison, who was chosen President after a contest almost as one-sided as that of 1804.

Emperor in 1804. On land the French army seemed unconquerable so long as he was at its head. But it could not attack the English directly, although England is separated from the Continent only by the Channel, which is twenty-five miles wide. In the "narrow seas," as well as on the broad ocean, the English seemed invincible because of their powerful navy. The French had many battle-ships, but these were blockaded in French ports by English fleets.

Lord Nelson

Only once during the war did the French venture to fight the English on the sea. This was off Cape Trafalgar in October, 1805, and their fleet, together with the ships of Spain, at that time their ally, numbered 33. The English had 27 ships, but they were commanded by Lord Nelson, who was as skillful on the sea as Napoleon was on the land. What a tremendous conflict, 60 ships-of-the-line, many of them carrying a hundred cannon! The French and the Spaniards sailed in a long line, while the English moved down upon them in two lines or columns. Nelson's flag-ship, the *Victory*, was at the head of one column. At its mast-head flew Nelson's signal, "England expects every man to do his duty." Few French or Spanish ships escaped in the fierce struggle which followed. Nelson was killed, but his last victory gave England command of the seas for a century.

Extension of the War. — In 1805 the war began to spread. Austria and Russia became England's allies and declared war on France. They were defeated, and Austria made peace. In 1806 Prussia, aided by Russia, tried to drive the terrible French Emperor from Germany, but both were beaten and obliged to make peace. Then Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal were forced to take sides. Holland was

from the beginning managed by the French. By 1807 the United States was the only neutral of importance. Could the United States trade peacefully in such a warring world?

How American Trade was affected. — The answer to the question depended upon the English, for the United States had only a few frigates, while the English had at least 75 battleships. At first the English permitted American merchants to import French, Spanish, and Dutch sugar and coffee from the West Indies and export them to Europe. But they soon found that the American shippers could undersell them in the European market, notwithstanding the expense of carrying the sugar first into a port of the United States and unloading it. The English merchants and planters complained that their business was suffering. The English government then began seizing American ships engaged in this trade.

English war ships cruised off the ports of the United States and stopped vessels passing in and out, taking possession of those which had broken any of the rules that the English government had made in regard to neutral trade. In stopping a vessel near New York several shots were fired, one of which killed the steersman. Sometimes when the English vessels disappeared French vessels, equally contemptuous of American rights, would take their places.

The English Excuse. — The English parliament had to listen to the complaints of merchants, shipowners, and planters, because it was laying heavy taxes upon them. England was obliged to lend vast sums to her allies on the Continent, otherwise they could not have kept up the conflict with the French for six months. Even before the war began in 1803 England's debt amounted to five billion dollars, at the present value of money. Every man with more than $2,000 income was compelled to give a tenth of it in taxes to the government.

Difficulties Increase. — In 1806 and 1807 troubles thickened for the American merchants. The English declared that they would capture any ships which tried to enter ports

on the northwestern coast of France. Bonaparte retorted by declaring that French ships would seize any vessel which traded with Great Britain. England's reply to this challenge was that their enemies in Europe should not have any coffee, sugar, cotton, or dye stuffs, unless they purchased these products from English merchants or from neutral merchants whose ships stopped at an English port and paid taxes on the cargoes. In 1807, before these rules went into effect, the United States exported 64,000,000 pounds of cotton alone, worth $5,476,000.

Napoleon Bonaparte
After the portrait by Paul Delaroche

Impressment of Seamen. — The quarrel with the English over the impressment of seamen was quite as fierce as the quarrel about trade. It was customary in England, when a crew was needed for a war ship, to send bodies of marines, called "press-gangs," through the sailors' haunts in the ports and seize enough seamen. If a sailor happened to be an American, he might be seized with the rest. The United States had no agents in England who could protect its sailors from such outrages. English war ships also frequently stopped merchant vessels on the ocean and took the men they needed. If they thought there were Englishmen on board American vessels, they stopped them also. The fact that a sailor had been naturalized did not save him, for the officers held that he had not ceased to be an Englishman.

The injustice was not all on one side. While American merchants were making money as neutral traders, they were eager to obtain men. The number of sailors in the United States was not sufficient to man all the ships. The merchants, accordingly, offered higher wages, raising them from

$8 a month to $24. The bait proved attractive, especially as the English sailors were poorly paid and ill-treated. Scores began to desert. Some ships had scarcely men enough to get out of the American port which they had entered. At Norfolk, Virginia, one ship lost every sailor. The sailors often changed their names, obtained naturalization papers, and pretended that they were American citizens. News of such things enraged the British naval officers and they grew more insulting in their search of American ships. Moreover mistakes were sometimes made and American born citizens impressed. Such acts would not have been endured for a moment had the United States been strong enough to compel the British government to change its way of dealing with the difficulty.

The "Chesapeake" and the "Leopard" 1807. — In 1807 several sailors deserted from British frigates in Chesapeake Bay and afterward enlisted on the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, which was then being fitted out for service in the Mediterranean. The British officers requested the return of the men, but American officials refused. This refusal angered the British admiral at Halifax and he ordered that the *Chesapeake* be searched as soon as it appeared on the ocean. The task was assigned to the frigate *Leopard*. The commander of the *Chesapeake* rightly refused to permit a search, but his ship was not ready for a battle. The *Leopard* fired upon him and in a few minutes he was forced to surrender. The news of the outrage sent a thrill of anger through the country. Jefferson was still anxious to maintain peace.

The Embargo. — No one would greatly blame Jefferson and Congress if they had gone to war at this time, so serious were the wrongs under which the United States was suffering. They decided instead to attempt to compel the British to respect American rights by threatening not to buy English goods. This had been a useful weapon in obtaining the repeal of the Stamp Act many years before. But the situation in December, 1807, looked so serious that Jefferson urged Congress to pass an Act called an "Embargo," forbidding Amer-

ican vessels to leave port, and forbidding all other vessels to carry any cargo which was not on board at the time they were notified of the Act. The Embargo enraged the New England shipowners, who were making money in spite of Bonaparte's declarations and England's orders. They could afford to lose a ship or two now and then, taking into account the enormous profits obtained when they landed colonial products or their own goods in Europe. The size of the profits may be guessed when it is remembered that the price of sugar in Paris rose steadily until in 1811 it was 80 cents a pound.

Although the Embargo, and a Non-Importation Act enforced at the same time, took from the English the American market, their shipowners did not suffer. The ocean freight business and the colonial trade were now in their hands. The New Englanders complained so strongly, even threatening to secede from the Republic, that just before Jefferson's term of office ended a Non-Intercourse Act was substituted for the Embargo. By this Act trade was permitted with all countries except England and France, and would be permitted with them if they agreed to treat American ships fairly.

Conduct of Napoleon. — In all these difficulties the Americans had as much reason to complain of Napoleon's conduct as of that of the British government. At one time he seized American ships worth $10,000,000. French privateers also did a good deal of damage to neutral shipping. However, the French had far less power for harm than the English.

Madison's Efforts to keep Peace. — President Madison had no better success than Jefferson in persuading the English and the French to respect the rights of neutral traders. After he had been in office a year the Non-Intercourse Act was withdrawn, on the understanding that if either England or France promised to deal fairly with American trade, all commerce with the other was to be broken off. Napoleon hastened to make such an offer,[1] hoping to bring on a conflict

[1] At this very time Napoleon was threatening Russia with war because the Emperor Alexander refused to seize American ships in the Baltic Sea.

between the United States and Great Britain. His shrewd offer was successful. Congress passed a new Non-Intercourse Act directed against the English.

Tippecanoe. — In 1811 the people of the West were aroused against the English because of a threatened Indian attack under the leadership of a chief named Tecumseh. It was said that the Indians were furnished with arms by English traders. The real cause of Indian hostility was the steady advance of the settlers into the Indian hunting grounds. The people of Indiana Territory did not wait to be attacked, but, led by their governor, General William Henry Harrison, marched against the Indians, defeated them at Tippecanoe Creek, and burned their villages.

Henry Clay and Other "War Hawks." — Many had now become dissatisfied with the policy of peace which Jefferson and Madison held. Foremost among these was Henry Clay of Kentucky. He was a young lawyer, gifted with a musical voice and a charming manner. He was ably aided by others, like himself full of enthusiasm for American rights and confident of American success in a war. The most distinguished of these was John C. Calhoun, also a young man, and like Clay a brilliant debater. These leaders, who had just been elected to the House of Representatives, did everything they could to bring on war with England. John Randolph, who hated them both, called them and their followers "War Hawks."

The War Hawks were mainly from the new West and the farther South, which were without great sea-ports or exposed shores. Many of the New Englanders thought Napoleon a greater enemy than the English. The War Hawks were willing to wage war against both England and France, except for the cost and risk of defeat. Madison and other statesmen from the middle states, and especially from Virginia, were opposed to war with either country if it could be avoided. Clay argued that the United States could conquer Canada, and then England would either have to yield or lose its colony. If Canada were conquered there would be no more

trouble with the Indians. This argument won the majority in Congress; Madison, weary of the conflict, gave way, and war was declared.

Should the War have been avoided? — On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war. Two days before this the English government decided to withdraw a part of the regulations which had injured American merchants. The news did not reach the United States until long after the war had begun. Moreover, the other grievances remained.

EUROPE AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

In declaring war on Great Britain in 1812 the United States became virtually an ally of Napoleon and helped him in two enterprises with which they could have had no sympathy. For years he had been trying to place his brother on the Spanish throne and the Spaniards were fighting desperately to prevent it. The English under Wellington were assisting the Spaniards and had defeated several French armies in Portugal and in Spain. Of course, to attack the English was to aid Napoleon's Spanish enterprise, at least indirectly.

In 1812 Napoleon invaded Russia with an immense army in order to humble the Emperor, who, for one thing, had refused to seize American neutral vessels in the Baltic Sea two years before. If the Americans succeeded in keeping England, Napoleon's other principal enemy, busy, the Russians might conclude that they were badly rewarded for their fairness. The War Hawks of 1812 thought neither of the Spanish nor of the Russian campaign, except to argue that the English were so deeply involved in their struggle against Napoleon that they could not defend Canada.

Questions

1. Why was Napoleon Bonaparte so successful? Why was it impossible for him to conquer England? What happened when the French tried to meet the English on the high seas?

2. What other countries were drawn into the great European war? What countries did Napoleon control from the first? Which did he conquer during the war?

3. Why did England wish to stop American trade in sugar and coffee? Were the English the only ones who interfered with American rights? What excuse had the English for helping their merchants to secure a monopoly of trade during the war?

4. What rules about trade did England and France lay down? How did such rules affect American merchants?

5. What methods did Jefferson employ to force England and France to respect American rights? Why did the Embargo make the New England ship-owners angry? Why did it fail to injure English ship-owners as much as American? What did Jefferson substitute for the Embargo?

6. How did Napoleon treat American trade on the seas? Why did the United States overlook his acts?

7. What other grievances had the United States against the British? What did the Americans do which gave the British some excuse for thinking them unfair? Tell the story of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard*.

8. How did Madison try to bring England and France to terms? Why did Napoleon promise to deal fairly with American trade? What was Congress then obliged to do?

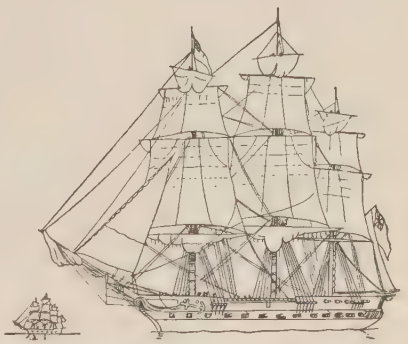
9. What special reason had the people of the West for being angry with the British? What was the real cause of the Indian trouble in the West?

10. Who began in 1812 vigorously to oppose Madison's way of dealing with England and France? What expectation had the "War Hawks" from a war with England?

CHAPTER XXIII

THE WAR OF 1812

An Unequal Struggle. — The great war in Europe, although it had brought war upon the Americans, saved them from some of the perils of an unequal struggle. What could the United States with an army of 6,700 men and a fleet of 18 ships expect to accomplish against England, whose army numbered 150,000 men and whose fleet consisted of 900 ships? England, however, was obliged to guard many seas, and could despatch only a small part of her fleet to American waters. She could send over only a few regiments, because most of her soldiers were needed for the struggle which Wellington was carrying on with the French in Spain.



American fleet English fleet

RELATIVE SIZE OF THE AMERICAN AND ENGLISH FLEETS

Invasion of Canada. — Clay thought that it would be easy to take Canada. From the first this was the main object of the United States. The leaders forgot that the task was far more difficult than it would have been during the Revolutionary War. At that time the population of Canada was chiefly French. Since then Upper Canada had been settled, much of it with loyalist refugees from the United States. The United Empire Loyalists still remembered their sufferings at the hands of the patriots thirty years before, and could be counted upon to resist stubbornly the attempts of the sons of the patriots to seize their new home.

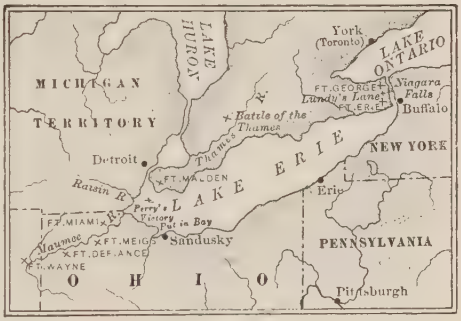
Hull's Ill-Fated Attempt. — Three separate invasions of Canada were planned: one from Detroit, a second from the Niagara frontier, and a third by the Hudson-Champlain route. General Hull was despatched through the woods of northwestern Ohio and southern Michigan to Detroit. Most of the way he was obliged to cut a road for his troops. It was difficult to feed his soldiers, for, as yet, few settlers lived on the southern and western shores of Lake Erie. The single boat which the Americans had on the lake was soon captured by the British. Supplies could be forwarded only with great difficulty and expense. It cost $60 to carry a barrel of flour from New York or Philadelphia to Detroit. It cost fifty cents to send a pound of powder or shot. The difficulty was increased by the hostility of the Indians, who had not been crushed by their defeat at Tippecanoe the year before. Indeed, Tecumseh rallied them to the aid of the English all through the Northwest.

Upon his arrival in Detroit, Hull issued a pompous proclamation, declaring that he had come to rescue the Canadians from oppression. The legislature of Upper Canada retorted by accusing the Americans of being completely under the control of Bonaparte. Hull's expedition speedily came to a disastrous end. Threatened by an army of British soldiers, Canadian militia, and Indians, and cut off from reënforcements, he surrendered in August, 1812. A short time before the British had captured the little garrison at Mackinac, and the very day before an Indian war party had massacred most of the garrison at Fort Dearborn, where Chicago now stands. The fall of Fort Dearborn, Mackinac, and Detroit gave the British control of Michigan Territory. This was a bad beginning.

Other Invasions. — Every attempt of the American armies to invade and conquer Canada, made in 1812, 1813, and 1814, failed ingloriously. Only once did the invaders hold their own. In 1814, the third year of the war, General Jacob Brown and General Winfield Scott met the English and Canadians at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, both near Niagara

River, and proved that American soldiers were fully equal to the staunchest British regulars. An English officer exclaimed after the battle of Lundy's Lane, "The Americans do not know when they are beaten." Even from these engagements nothing was gained beyond a display of courage, for the army was unable to advance farther into Canada.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie. — The most important object in the war on the Canadian frontier was the control of the Lakes — Erie, Ontario, and Champlain. They were the highways on which armies and supplies could be carried to the places where they were most needed. After the loss of Detroit the United States was particularly anxious to destroy the British fleet on Lake Erie. Captain Oliver Hazard Perry was intrusted with the task. It was necessary to build ships before the struggle could begin. Timber was at hand along the shore. Workmen were brought from Philadelphia. Iron was gathered from farm buildings and shops, and from every available source. Supplies were forwarded from neighboring settlements. Sails, ropes, guns, and ammunition had to be carried overland from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to Erie, where the little fleet[1] was being built. The ships were finally ready, and on September 10, 1813, Perry met the British squadron in battle near Put-in-Bay. The fighting was stubborn. Perry's flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, was riddled with shot and became unmanageable. Four-fifths of her crew were either killed or wounded. Perry, undaunted,



LAKE ERIE AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY

[1] Neither this fleet nor the fleet of Macdonough at Plattsburg would have been called "fleets" on the ocean. The largest British or American ship on the Lakes was not even so large as the *Constitution*.

entered a boat and was rowed to the *Niagara* in the midst of the battle. Soon the victory was his. He tore off the back of an old letter, and with his hat as a table, wrote the news to his superior, " We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." One of the results of the victory was the recovery of Detroit and Michigan Territory.

Raid on Toronto, 1813. — Some weeks before the battle on Lake Erie, an expedition dashed across Lake Ontario and took Toronto, or York as it was then named, the small capital of Upper Canada. Some naval stores and two small ships in the harbor were destroyed or captured. Soldiers acting without orders burned the house where the provincial assembly met. But the explosion of a powder magazine, near the American line of march, killed or wounded nearly 300 men and made the affair cost more than it was worth.

Macdonough's Victory on Lake Champlain, 1814. — Every effort to conquer Canada had failed. In 1814 it looked as if the tables would be turned and that the British would invade the United States. The war against Napoleon came to an end in April, 1814, and 16,000 of Wellington's veterans were sent to Canada. With 7,000 of these men Sir George Prevost, the Governor General of Canada, attempted an invasion by the same route that Burgoyne had taken thirty-seven years earlier. His land forces were accompanied by a small flotilla on Lake Champlain. An American force occupied fortified lines at Plattsburg. On the lake a small fleet, under Commander Macdonough, was drawn up awaiting the British. After a desperate fight the British ships were captured or dispersed. Prevost made a half-hearted attack on the American lines and then returned to Canada.

The War on the Sea. — Neither the Americans nor the British permanently occupied any territory belonging to the other along the border between the United States and Canada. The war was not more decisive in other quarters. There could be no attempt by the Americans to oppose fleet to fleet on the ocean, for they did not possess a single ship-

of-the-line. Their frigates and smaller vessels could be used only in attacking English commerce or in fighting sea-duels with ships of their own class.

The English could spare ships enough to establish a strict blockade of the American coast. They boasted that they could do more. They declared that "not a sail, but by permission, spreads." They felt nothing but contempt for the little American fleet. All the greater was their chagrin when frigates like the *Constitution* and the *Essex* captured ship after ship in sea-duels.

THE "CONSTITUTION"

The "Constitution" and the "Guerrière." — Captain Isaac Hull, commander of the *Constitution*, and a nephew of the unfortunate General Hull, had scarcely left American waters on the coast of New Jersey in July, 1812, when he was pursued by five English vessels. He put on all sail, but as the wind died down escape seemed impossible. Part of the time he had boats out towing his vessel. This the enemy could do as well. Then he kedged his ship, that is, sent a boat a half mile ahead with a light anchor and a rope attached. The boat dropped the anchor, and the crew on the *Constitution* pulled on the rope until the ship was up with the anchor. In the meantime another boat had set another anchor. By such seamanship, for two days and three nights, he kept beyond reach of the British guns, until finally a storm arose, which enabled the *Constitution* to escape.

A few weeks later in the Gulf of St. Lawrence the *Constitution* sighted the British frigate *Guerrière*,[1] and gave battle.

[1] *Guerrière*, a ship which the British had captured from the French. The name meant "warrior."

The *Constitution* was the larger and better ship, but her principal advantage was in the skillful marksmanship of her gunners. After forty minutes the *Guerrière* lay a battered hulk. The *Constitution* was almost unharmed.

The rejoicing in America was unbounded. Its tiny navy was proving of some value. And the joy was greater because the people hated the *Guerrière* for its share in searching American vessels along the coast before the war began. Nor was the *Constitution*, which the people affectionately called "Old Ironsides,"[1] the only American ship to win fame. Several others fought successfully in one or more sea-duels.

Exploits of the "Essex." — The *Essex*, one of the smallest frigates of the United States, built and given to the government by the patriotic citizens of Salem, captured ten prizes in the Atlantic, and then sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific to prey on British commerce. Captain David Porter managed to provide his ship with supplies, war material, provisions, medicines, and even money to pay his officers and men, from the British ships that he captured. Once when his prisoners outnumbered his own crew two to one and planned to seize the *Essex*, the timely warning of his young midshipman, David Farragut, saved him.[2] In the Pacific Captain Porter captured a dozen British whaling ships. Porter was finally, after a year and a half of successful fighting, caught on the shore of South America by a superior force, and the *Essex* was captured.

The Blockade of the Atlantic Coast, 1813. — Long before Porter's eventful voyage had ended, the American coast was completely closed. A British squadron hovered in front of each important sea-port. Only a few ships like the *Essex*, and some privateers, were still playing the war game of hide and seek on distant seas and preying on England's widespread

[1] Holmes' poem on *Old Ironsides* was written when the government planned to destroy the old worn-out wooden ship. The plan was given up. The ship is now preserved in Charlestown Navy Yard.

[2] David Farragut, then only 11 years old, later became one of America's famous naval officers.

commerce.[1] In America almost all trade by sea had ceased. The exports and imports of 1814 were one-seventh of what they had been in 1810. Things like sugar and tea and coffee became so costly that only the rich could afford to buy them. The goods that the merchants expected to send abroad lay in port. The farmers found that part of the market for their crops was gone.

The War Unpopular in New England. — The war had been unpopular in New England from the first. Many people believed it wrong because of the plan to conquer Canada. Others were angry at the loss of their foreign trade. The war became doubly unpopular with the rise of prices and the

THE CAPITOL AFTER THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

increase of taxes. Some leaders were misguided enough to talk of secession from the Union and of a separate peace with England. The governors of several states did almost nothing to help Madison secure men and money. In 1814 Massachusetts withdrew its militia from the service of the United States and directed the movements of this force as if it had been an independent army in a foreign country. Traders even carried provisions to the British army on the Canadian frontier and to British vessels on the coast.

The Burning of Washington, 1814. — The situation of the government was rendered still more distressing by a successful raid on Washington. No preparations had been made to defend the capital. Not a fort, or breastwork, or battery

[1] About 1,300 English merchant vessels were captured during the war. American swift-sailing privateers made captures even along the English coast.

had been built. A force of 4,500 veterans, led by General Ross, who had served under Wellington in Spain, was sent in August to destroy Washington in retaliation for the burning of York the year before. He marched unchecked to the city, and burned the Capitol, the White House, and other buildings. President Madison and his Cabinet took refuge in Virginia.

Attack on Baltimore. — A few days later General Ross attacked Baltimore.[1] But the citizens of Baltimore prepared vigorously and thoroughly for their own defense. General Ross was killed in the attack of the land forces. All day, September 13, the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry at the entrance to the harbor, but the spirited resistance on land and at the fort discouraged the British. They withdrew, and soon left the Chesapeake altogether.

Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. — Two of the expeditions planned by the English government for 1814 had already failed. The British, like the Americans, had found that the invasion of a foreign country is a most difficult matter. By the end of 1814 both nations were weary of the costly and fruitless war and ready to make peace. On Christmas eve, 1814, the representatives of England and the United States agreed to terms of peace at a meeting at Ghent in Belgium. It was February 11, 1815, before the good news could be carried across the Atlantic to the United States. Just one week before this, on February 4, the Americans in Washington learned that a great battle, the greatest of the entire war, had been fought at New Orleans.

General Pakenham, brother-in-law of Wellington, at the head of an army of 9,000 veteran soldiers, supported by a large fleet, attacked New Orleans. Andrew Jackson commanded the line of defense. Nature aided Jackson's army.

[1] During the bombardment Francis Scott Key of Baltimore went aboard the British fleet on an errand. He was detained throughout the battle, and watched anxiously the damage being done. The following morning, as he looked out from the British ship and saw the Stars and Stripes still waving, he wrote "The Star Spangled Banner."

Swamps, canals, and the river divided the army of invasion and made it hard for its parts to work together. Besides, the British showed the same contempt for American marksmanship that their predecessors had at Bunker Hill, and charged straight across an open field against Jackson's Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen shooting from behind high breastworks. These frontiersmen, hunters, and Indian fighters struck the enemy down, said an eye-witness, "like blades of grass beneath the scythe of the mower." An experienced British officer described the fire as "the most murderous and destructive fire of all arms ever poured upon a column." The British left 700 dead on the field, among them General Pakenham. Their total losses were 2,600.

Results of the War of 1812. — The treaty of peace settled none of the questions for which the two nations had gone to war. These had settled themselves before the war ended. When the greater war in Europe was over, England had no reason to press American seamen into service, nor had either England or France any reason to seize American goods. Fortunately the Napoleonic wars were the last great world struggle for a century. Peace between the United States and Great Britain became more firm as each decade passed.

Other Questions Settled. — Within a few years after the close of the war several important agreements were made by the two countries. In 1817 they agreed to reduce the number of government ships on the Great Lakes, keeping only a few small vessels to enforce the laws about fishing. It was a fortunate arrangement, for it relieved both nations of great expense and removed the dangers which come from the presence of rival fleets in the same waters. The following year, chiefly through the efforts of John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, England agreed, as she had in 1783, to allow American fishermen to fish in the waters on the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland, and to dry on shore the fish they caught. This was a privilege of great value to New England fishermen. At the same time the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was fixed at

the forty-ninth parallel. Beyond the Rocky Mountains both nations claimed the whole of Oregon and agreed for a while to hold it as a common territory.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the settlement of the differences with England, left the American people free to turn away from European affairs and to devote themselves mainly to the development of new industries and to the settlement of their vast interior lands.

Questions

1. What advantage had England in the war with the United States? What made her advantage less than it would have been at another time?

2. What was the chief part of the plan of the United States for the war? Why were many Canadians opposed to the United States?

3. What obstacles did Hull's expedition meet? What did the British gain in the first year of the war? Were the armies of the United States any more successful later in invading Canada?

4. Describe Perry's victory on Lake Erie. Did the raid on Toronto benefit the United States? Why was Macdonough's victory important for the United States?

5. How did the blockade affect the United States? Why was the war unpopular?

6. What veterans did England send to the United States? Describe the British expedition against Washington and Baltimore.

7. What battle took place after the treaty of peace was agreed to? Why did Jackson defeat the British?

8. Why were the causes of the war not settled in the treaty of peace? What important friendly agreements did the United States and Great Britain make soon after the War of 1812?

Review Exercises

1. State the difficulties which the new republic had with other nations from 1783 to 1814.

2. State what friendly agreements the United States entered into with England in 1794, 1817, and 1818.

3. Did the Revolution have the same effect on American foreign trade as did the War of 1812?

Important Dates:

1812. The war with England begins.
1814. A treaty of peace ends the war.

CHAPTER XXIV

NEW WORK AND NEW ROUTES

One Consequence of War. — The interruption of foreign trade by the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts as well as by the War of 1812 forced Americans to supply most of their own needs. For several years they could not obtain the

Power-Looms in an English Mill, 1820

cottons, woolens, articles of iron and steel, and many other things which they had been accustomed to buy in England. They, therefore, built more iron mills, set up more spinning machines, and wove more cloth. They used nine times as many bales of cotton in 1815 as in 1810. The number of spindles increased from 80,000 to 500,000. Merchants and shipowners, whose business was ruined by the war, began to build factories. In 1815 there were over 100 cotton mills within thirty miles of Providence, Rhode Island. Weaving, however, was still done on hand-looms.

A Complete Mill. — In 1814 Francis Lowell, who had visited England in order to examine the power-looms, re-

turned to the United States and succeeded in constructing similar machinery in a cotton factory in Waltham, Massachusetts. Lowell's factory differed from the English factories by bringing under one roof all the new machines for spinning, weaving, and finishing, so that they could be run by the same power. Other men built factories like Lowell's. The machinery was soon adapted to spinning, weaving, and finishing linen and woolen goods. While New England was the center of the new industries, many were located in other states. These factories, like the English mills, were generally run by water-power, but one in New York was run by a steam-engine.

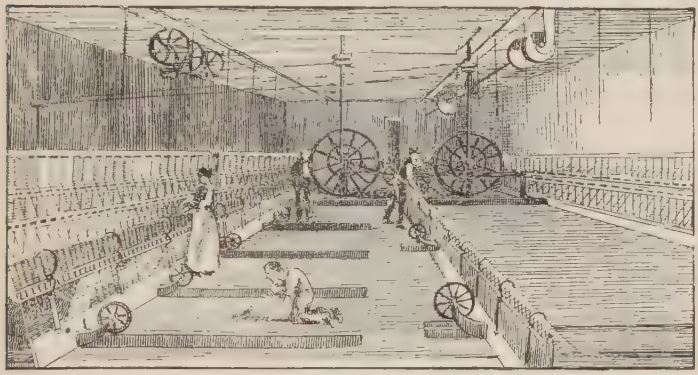
Iron, Steel, and Coal. — The multiplication of iron and steel mills increased the need of coal. The mining of bituminous or soft coal had been carried on about Pittsburgh for nearly twenty years. Already the town was being described as a "smoky city." Among the inventions used there was a machine which would cut and head nails. The products of the mills of western Pennsylvania, including nails, hinges, locks, and tools of all kinds, were loaded on barges and floated down to New Orleans. Kettles also were sold to the sugar planters of Louisiana.

The steel mills of eastern Pennsylvania and the other states on the coast had relied upon England for supplies of soft coal. Fortunately, when the war cut off their trade with England, a grate was invented which created draft enough to burn anthracite. Up to that time anthracite, called stone coal, had been regarded as worthless except as gravel for sidewalks. The mill owners now began to use it in melting iron ores.

What Machines accomplished. — As mills were built and improved machines set up, the amount of work accomplished was increased enormously. For example, one person running a mule spinner which carried 3,000 spindles could spin as much thread as 3,000 women 40 or 50 years before. A weaver with a power-loom could make 1,600 yards of cotton cloth in a week, while he could make only 40 with a hand-loom. One consequence of the change was the rapid reduc-

tion of prices. Cotton sheeting in 1815 was 40 cents a yard, while fourteen years later it was $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Similar changes were going on in other manufactures where machines and new methods were introduced.

From Household to Factory. — The transfer of industries from the household and the little shop, which had begun with the building of Slater's first mill and the invention of the cotton-gin, still went on slowly, but surely. The spinning-wheel, the hand-loom, and the household forge were used less



SPINNING ROOM IN AN AMERICAN MILL, 1830

From an old print

and less and were finally abandoned. Within twenty or thirty years after the War of 1812, home-made products gave way almost everywhere to articles made in mills and factories. If women and girls needed employment outside of the home, they must seek it in the mills. Indeed, they were the ones who ran the spinning frames and the looms, the men doing the heavier work about the mills. Although each machine did the work of many hands, no hand need long be without employment, because the mills were built so rapidly, increasing from four in 1805 to 795 in 1831. What was true of the cotton industry was true also of other industries. The things which were produced found a ready sale, since the prices were lower, and people used larger quantities. More-

over, the population was growing rapidly, and new markets were being opened every day.

More Workers needed. — The demand for wool, flax, cotton, coal, and iron gave chances of work everywhere to willing hands. The mills called the young men and women to the towns. The farms and fields called other young men and women almost as loudly, for the townspeople must be fed, the sheep must be cared for, and the cotton and flax raised. The new work made many opportunities for immigrants. Their number soon began to increase greatly.

The need of more workers had one unfortunate consequence. Cotton growing required a very large number of the cheapest or least skilled laborers. The increased demand for cotton, therefore, fixed on the southern plantations more firmly than ever another sort of labor — that of slaves.[1]

English Manufacturers and the American Market. — When peace came the English manufacturers tried to regain the trade with the United States which the war had cut off. They saw that American manufacturers had taken their places in making goods for American purchasers, and they now resolved to sell their goods at such low prices as to ruin the business of the American manufacturers. A prominent member of parliament explained that it "was well worth while to incur a loss on the first exportation in order to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States." This plan partly accounts for the enormous sales to American merchants in 1816. American imports in that year were valued at $147,000,000, while during the last year of the war they were worth only $13,000,000.

The new or "infant" industries of the United States were threatened with ruin. The eastern iron works were obliged to shut down. The Pittsburgh mills could go on, because the

[1] Several states forbade the importation of slaves, and in 1807 Congress also tried to put a stop to the slave-trade. So great, however, was the demand for slaves on the plantations, that the government could not always enforce the laws which prohibited the bringing of slaves into the United States.

cost of sending English goods across the mountains raised their price. The cotton and woolen factories of the East were also in danger. In their distress the mill owners petitioned Congress for more "protection." Congress accordingly passed the Tariff of 1816, which raised the rates provided in the earlier tariffs and added duties on goods which had not been "protected."

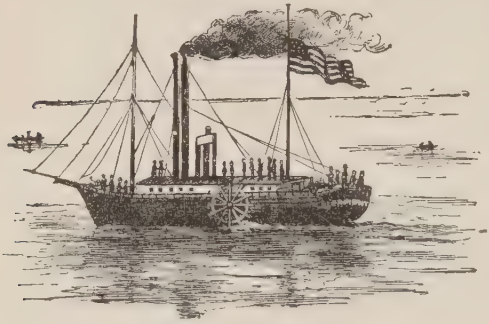
While the English wished to sell their manufactures to the Americans, they did not wish to buy grain of the Americans. In 1815 the English parliament passed new "corn" or grain laws, preventing the importation of grain until the price of English grain was $2.50 a bushel. Each country arranged its tariff with the aim of selling to its neighbors without being obliged to buy from them. They were all "protectionists." In the Tariff of 1816, therefore, Congress did what the legislatures or royal councils of Great Britain and all European countries were doing.

THE PORT OF BUFFALO IN 1815
From an old print. The harbors are without improvements

Need for Roads and Canals. — With the increase of manufactures and trade and the rapid advance of the population into the Mississippi Valley, Americans felt the need of more roads and bridges and canals, and, in fact, of every possible means of communication. The problem was difficult, because the new states could not raise great sums of money by taxation, and the United States at the time was loaded down with war debts. The western farmers were willing to have the government protect the manufacturers with the tariff, if it would in turn build roads and canals over which they could afford to send their products to the coast in exchange for the goods that they needed on the frontier. This was

the reason why the people demanded that the government undertake "internal improvements."

The Invention of the Steamboat; Robert Fulton. — For twenty years men had been trying to plan a boat which could use Watt's steam-engine as its motive power. In 1807 Robert Fulton, the son of an Irish immigrant, built the *Clermont*, on which he fitted up a steam-engine to run a pair of side-wheels. His neighbors called it "Fulton's Folly," but to their astonishment it started off and plowed its way up the Hudson River. It reached Albany, 150 miles away, in 32 hours. The next year the *Clermont* made the voyage on the Hudson regularly two or three times a week.



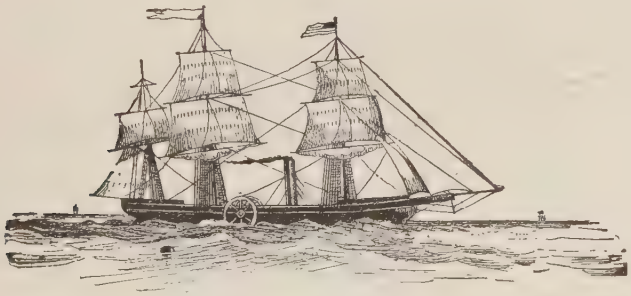
THE "CLERMONT"
After an old print

Steamboats soon came into general use. In 1811 one built in Pittsburgh made the long voyage down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans. Four years later, in 1815, another succeeded in making the voyage up-stream against the strong current. It then required 25 days to go from New Orleans to Louisville. In 1819 steamboats ascended the swifter current of the Missouri River far on the route of Lewis and Clark. In 1819, also, the *Savannah*, using both sails and steam-engine, crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

From this time on steamboats multiplied rapidly, especially in the West. Twenty-one were built on the Ohio River in 1819. A year later there were 71 on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the other western rivers. As yet only four steamboats had been built on the Great Lakes. Travel, emigration, and trade had not begun to follow that route.

Advantages of the River Towns. — With an ocean port at New Orleans the towns on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley had a great advantage over the settlements on the shores of the Lakes. These northern settlements were difficult to reach, for the St. Lawrence Valley was in the hands of the British. Chicago and Milwaukee were still mere stations for fur traders. Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo were only villages. The region from the Mohawk Valley to the eastern end of Lake Erie was a wilderness.

The river towns, on the other hand, were on the great highways from the East to the West and from the northern West



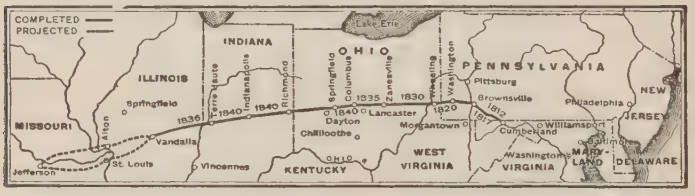
THE "SAVANNAH"

The first steamship that crossed the Atlantic

to the Gulf of Mexico. The steamboat shortened the distances. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis became large and prosperous trading centers. To St. Louis were brought the furs of the new Northwest. Louisville was the market for Kentucky tobacco and hemp. At Cincinnati a flourishing meat-packing business was established. Until the War of 1812, droves of 4,000 or 5,000 hogs had been driven across the mountains to Philadelphia and Baltimore, feeding on the nuts and acorns of the forests by the way. Now cattle and hogs were kept on the feeding-grounds of Ohio until they were ready for the packers of Cincinnati. New Orleans was the port where most of the products of the West were marketed.

Turnpikes and Bridges. — In the West, wagon roads were almost unknown except in a few older settlements. The old Indian trails were used, but few travelers tried to go far from the rivers. In the East, the local governments and private companies had built many paved roads or turnpikes, stretching out from the chief towns like the spokes of a wheel. Toll-gates were placed at frequent intervals to take toll from the traveler in order to pay the cost of repairs and a profit to the builders. The old fords along the way were bridged with stone arches and the swamps crossed by logs or planks laid side by side.[1]

The National Road, 1818. — Neither local governments nor private companies could undertake the costly enterprise of a road across the mountains. Eastern merchants were



ROUTE OF THE NATIONAL ROAD, 1818–1840

alarmed at the advantage which the steamboat gave to their rivals at New Orleans. It cost much more to send goods over the mountains than from New Orleans. Besides, statesmen of the day were afraid that the loose-jointed republic would break apart at the mountains.

George Washington had taken an interest in a great wagon road across the Alleghanies and had repeatedly urged that one should be built. In 1818 Congress finally carried out Washington's plan, even following the trail that he had blazed for a part of the way. In 1818 the National Road, carefully graded and covered with crushed stone, reached from Cumberland on the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio, and was later extended westward as far as Vandalia, in Illinois.

[1] A Scotch engineer, Macadam, had already shown how to build solid, well-drained roads. His plans were followed by American road-builders.

Stage Coaches. — The new roads, and especially the National Road, made it easier for emigrants to reach the West, and cheaper for merchants to transport their goods. Better roads were followed by finer and swifter stage-coaches for the traveler. Daily stage-coaches set out for the West or ran between the main towns. People at that time marveled at their swiftness. They now made the journey from Boston to New York in two days, and from New York to Philadelphia in fifteen hours. The government mail coaches, by running day and night on the new National Road, made the journey from Cumberland to Wheeling in exactly twenty-four hours.

"Conestoga" Wagon for carrying Freight

Travelers in the ordinary passenger coaches could not go so rapidly. Six days was the usual time from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Horses were changed every few miles, and the drivers boasted that the change was made before the coach stopped rocking. Freight was carried between distant cities by large Conestoga wagons, each drawn by six powerful horses.[1]

Erie Canal, 1825. — The building of the National Road helped the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore far more than New York. It also increased the advantage which the

[1] The name "Conestoga" was given because they were first used by the thrifty farmers in the valley of the Conestoga River, in eastern Pennsylvania, for carrying their farm products to market.

river towns of the West possessed over the settlements along the shores of the Lakes. De Witt Clinton and other public-spirited men resolved to guard the future of New York City, open western New York state, and gain a route to the Lakes, and through them to the Northwest.

With such objects in mind Clinton persuaded the legislature of New York to raise the money for a canal from Albany to Buffalo. To build a " big ditch," as Clinton's enemies called

Map of the Erie Canal

it, 360 miles long, by means of spades and wheel-barrows, seemed a wild scheme, but the plan won the support of the people and, in 1825, after eight years of work, it was completed.

It was a great event for New York City, and for the people along the way, but most of all for the people of the West. It had formerly cost them $32 a ton to send their freight 100 miles by wagon. The canal carried the same load for $1. A stream of emigrants began to move by the canal into the region on the Lakes. They were as certain to find a good market for their products as the farmers on the rivers.

Other Canals. — Ohio, encouraged by the example of New York, built a system of canals connecting the Ohio River and Lake Erie. Ports like Cleveland became distributing cen-

ters for products from the East, brought by the Erie Canal and Lake Erie. The farm products of Ohio and northern Indiana were forwarded to the East from these ports. Steamboats were multiplied on the Lakes as they had been multiplied on the western rivers.

Philadelphia was alarmed by the success of the Erie Canal and attempted to rival it by building a canal to Pittsburgh. Part of the way the freight was hauled across the mountains, being pulled up and let down inclined railways by stationary engines placed at the highest point.

A Canal Passenger Packet

Every state now wanted a net-work of canals to reach districts far from rivers and lakes. Congress gave liberally to aid some of these projects, offering large sections of the public lands, by the sale of which the needed money might be furnished.

Union of East and West. — These new routes of travel and trade not only enriched the settlements along the way, the merchants on the coast, and the farmers of the Mississippi Valley, but they strengthened the bonds of union between the West and the East. Washington's hope was finally realized.

Questions

1. What was the effect of the interruption of foreign trade? What invention was introduced into the United States as a consequence? How did the American factories differ from the English?

2. What changes took place in the iron and steel industry?

3. How did the new machinery affect the amount of work done by laborers? The price of goods? The classes of laborers? The demand for slaves?

4. How did the English manufacturers try to ruin their American rivals? Why were the Pittsburgh mills not injured? How did Congress help the manufacturers? What was the aim of the various nations in arranging their tariffs?

5. What gave rise to demands for better means for traveling and carrying freight? Why was the problem a difficult one? Why did the western farmers expect the United States to build roads and canals?

6. Why was Fulton's invention timely? Where did steamboats find a great work to do?

7. Why did the river towns of the West have an advantage over those on the shores of the Great Lakes? How did New Orleans, St. Louis, Louisville, and Cincinnati obtain a leadership in trade?

8. How did many places secure roads and bridges? Why were the people of the East anxious to have a road across the Alleghany Mountains? How was the National Road built? What useful purpose did it serve when completed? What improvements were made in the stage-coach lines?

9. What cities did the National Road help the most? What did De Witt Clinton persuade New York to do? Why was his "big ditch" a great undertaking?

10. What were some of the results of building the Erie Canal? What other canals were soon built? What effect had these canals?

Exercises

1. Are there any occupations of the home today being crowded out by inventions and new business methods?

2. Which countries today have a "protective" tariff and which do not?

3. Find out why some cities have grown more prosperous than others.

4. If there is an old canal in the neighborhood, learn about its history.

Important Dates:

1807. Robert Fulton invents a steamboat.
1814. Francis Lowell introduces the power-loom and the new kind of factories into the United States.
1818. The National Road is complete from Cumberland to Wheeling.
1825. The Erie Canal is finished from Albany to Buffalo.

CHAPTER XXV

THE MARCH OF POPULATION WESTWARD

Immigration after the War. — The same years which saw the growth of American manufactures and the opening of new routes for trade and travel, saw a great tide of immigration coming toward the shores of America, and especially toward the fertile regions of the Mississippi Valley. They saw also an important extension of American territory and influence.

From the close of the Revolution to the end of the War of 1812, that is from 1783 to 1815, comparatively few came to America. The great wars kept men from leaving Europe, drawing them into armies or navies or into the employments which war creates. With the return of peace in 1815, the tide of immigration set in again. It was small at first, ten or twelve thousand a year, but the number steadily increased.

Not only did the opportunities in America attract immigrants, but poor people found it hard to make a living in Europe. The wars left a heavy burden of taxation. Soldiers and sailors, dismissed from the armies and out of work, crowded every occupation. Wages were very low. The peasant farmers, in Germany especially, found that they must still pay dues to the nobles.

The immigrants of this period were mostly from England and Ireland, although a few came from Germany. The Irish were chiefly peasants, but in the United States most of them worked in factories or did the hard out-door work of the coast towns. Englishmen who understood a trade quickly found employment in similar trades. Many English and German immigrants were farmers and were eager to obtain land in the West.

The Westward Movement after the War of 1812. — Besides the new immigrants from Europe who sought lands in the West, many people moved from the older settlements. A European traveler in 1817 says that on the roads leading across the mountains he was seldom out of sight of family groups. Each was traveling as its means permitted. Some went in stage-coaches or their own covered wagons. Many times whole families, because of poverty, set out on foot,

SCENE ON THE OHIO RIVER
The main highway of the early West

carrying on their backs or on a light wagon, dragged along by the father and sons, the few articles which they would need on the way.

The blockade of the Atlantic coast during the last year of the War of 1812 made earning a living so hard that many started for the lands which Congress offered for sale in the Mississippi Valley. Consequently the movement of people toward the frontier had never ceased. After the war closed, it became so great that certain eastern towns were alarmed, fearing that they would lose their inhabitants.

New Frontiers. — By this time the frontier had moved still farther westward. Indiana and Illinois in the Northwest, and Alabama and Mississippi in the Southwest, were most often the goal of the land seekers. The lands on the Missouri were occupied by the vanguard of the "army." In 1821 Congress reduced the price of the land from $2.00 to

$1.25 an acre, so that a thrifty man could soon save enough to buy a farm. The majority of the settlers on the new frontiers were poor, and some of them did not trouble themselves to obtain a right to the soil. They "squatted" on lands far from settlements, hoping to remain undisturbed until they earned enough to buy the land.

New States. — The rivers were the highways to the West until the Erie Canal was opened. People who intended to

CHICAGO IN 1820
From an old print

settle in Indiana or Illinois commonly traveled to the Ohio River and floated down or took a steamboat to the village nearest the lands they expected to purchase. The result was that the southern part of these territories was settled first. Another reason for this was that many of the settlers came from Kentucky and Tennessee. Many Kentuckians and Tennesseans also moved south into Mississippi and Alabama. These western territories grew so rapidly that four of them were soon admitted into the Union; Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, and Alabama in 1819. Louisiana had become a state in 1812.

The Lincolns and Davises as Pioneers. — The story of Abraham Lincoln and of Jefferson Davis tells something of the two streams of pioneers. Both were born in Kentucky near the center of the state, Lincoln in 1809 and Davis

in 1808. Lincoln's father took his family to Indiana, but soon moved on into Illinois. The Davises went to Louisiana, only to leave almost immediately for the newer settlements in Mississippi.

Life of the Settler. — In the new region young Lincoln lived the life of the frontier boy. He watched his father build a one-room log-cabin, which was left for a long time without a floor or a door, watched him make the rude furniture from rough slabs of wood, and clear the first patches of ground for corn and potatoes. He learned the simple pursuits of the farm boy — to drive the team, to handle the rude plow, to cut wheat with a sickle and thresh it with a flail, and finally fan and clean it in the wind. Most of the time the boy spent in clearing fields or splitting the rails used in making the zigzag or worm fences. When there was nothing to be done at home, he worked for a neighboring settler, earning his "keep" and 25 cents a day.

Log-Cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born

Life in the West in Lincoln's boyhood was almost the same as it had been on each new frontier since the founding of Jamestown. The opportunity to obtain an education was small. If the settlers could afford it, they started a school and hired a teacher. Lincoln called such schools, "ABC schools." Court-houses and churches were as rare as school buildings. Judges and lawyers rode on horseback from settlement to settlement, deciding cases sometimes in a log-cabin, sometimes in a tavern. The preacher also rode from church to church.

An ambitious boy, like Lincoln, turned from one thing to another, each a step higher than the last. Lincoln became a storekeeper, post-master, road supervisor, lawyer, and finally a law-maker. The great office that he was to hold in

1861 was still in the distant future. Not every western boy had the character and abilities of Lincoln, but each had an opportunity to show what was in him.

A Cotton Plantation of Mississippi. — The story of Jefferson Davis is also interesting. His father was a successful frontier cotton planter. Young Davis was sent to eastern schools for an education. After a brief career in the army, he became a Mississippi cotton planter, and finally, like Lincoln, a political leader.

In one respect the southern frontier differed greatly from the northern. The demand for cotton was so great that the new lands were divided into large plantations rather than small farms. The cotton planters who migrated from the older communities on the eastern coast or in Tennessee and Kentucky, brought their slave laborers with them. As in the older settlements in the Carolinas, some of the slaves became carpenters, bricklayers, and blacksmiths, and performed such work on the plantations. The more intelligent and trustworthy were kept as house-servants and drivers. The others — men, women, and older children — were sent to the fields. Clearing the land, planting, hoeing, picking, ginning, and baling cotton, and hauling it to market furnished work for many laborers all the year round. There were few days in so warm a climate when outdoor work could not be done. A bell in the yard summoned the slave gangs to work at sunrise, and the day ended at sundown. Food was given to them from the common storeroom. White overseers and trusty negroes directed the work.

GRINDING CORN ON THE FRONTIER

Three things made the plantation system successful: (1) cheap and fertile land, (2) slave labor at moderate cost, and (3) a steady market for cotton in the North and in Europe. Farmers who had been accustomed to do their own work were able from the great profits of their cotton to buy slaves and so become planters. Fabulous stories were told in the East of the riches gained from planting cotton in the deep fertile soil of the Mississippi Valley. A multitude of emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia — planters and common farmers — abandoned worn-out or less productive lands for the new frontier.

Southern Planter's Home
After a sketch

Two Streams of Migration meet in Missouri. — The two streams of migration, the northern and southern, in the ceaseless search for better land, did not stop with the Mississippi. Both came together in Missouri, where planter and free farmer mingled. By 1821 a few of the more adventurous frontiersmen went on, even beyond the boundaries of the United States, to the Spanish lands in Texas.

The Missouri Compromise. — In 1820 Missouri asked to be admitted as a state. This raised a new question. Should the states formed from the Louisiana Purchase be admitted into the Union as states in which slavery should be allowed or in which it should be prohibited? It happened that in 11 of the 22 states, slaves formed the main body of laborers and that in the other 11 there were either very few slaves, as in Pennsylvania, or none at all, as in Massachusetts.

BRITISH AMERICA
CANADA
OREGON COUNTRY
Columbia R.
MISSOURI TERRITORY
Under joint occupation of Great Britain and the United States by treaty of 1819
BOUNDARY LINE OF 1819
GREAT SALT LAKE
SAN FRANCISCO
SPANISH
Platte R.
Missouri R.
Arkansas R.
TREATY WITH SPAIN
Red R.
Free Soil by Missouri Compromise 1820
MISSOURI 1821
MISSOURI COMPROMISE LINE
SLAVE SOIL BY MISSOURI COMPROMISE 1820
SLAVE SOIL
FREE SOIL
ARKANSAS TER.
SANTA FE
MEXICO
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
LOWER CALIFORNIA
Gulf of California
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
L. SUPERIOR
L. MICHIGAN
LAKE HORON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
FREE BY ORDINANCE 1787
MILWAUKEE
DETROIT
CHICAGO
PEORIA
ILLINOIS
VANDALIA
VINCENNES
ST. LOUIS
FT. MEIGS
FT. WAYNE
INDIANA
OHIO
CLEVELAND
COLUMBUS
CINCINNATI
LOUISVILLE
KENTUCKY
KNOXVILLE
TENNESSEE
MEMPHIS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
AUGUSTA
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA
MOBILE
NEW ORLEANS
GALVESTON
NEW YORK
ALBANY
PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
WASHINGTON
VIRGINIA
NORFOLK
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
WILMINGTON
CHARLESTON
SAVANNAH
JACKSONVILLE
ST. AUGUSTINE
BAHAMA IDS.
MAINE 1820
PORTLAND
MASS.
BOSTON
CONN.
NEW YORK
TRENTON
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
1820
SHOWING THE
MISSOURI COMPROMISE
C. J. PETERS & SON ENGRS., BOSTON
127
117
107
97
87
77
67
45
36° 30'
35
25
Longitude West 97 from Greenwich

Opinion in the Senate was evenly divided, 11 states on each side, though in the House of Representatives the group which wished to stop the spread of slavery had a majority. Whichever group should win a new state would of course gain two votes in the Senate. The dispute was finally settled on this occasion by a famous bargain.

The Maine settlers, whose territory had long been a part of Massachusetts, wished to enter the Union as a separate state, and to do so without allowing slavery. The majority of the people of Missouri, on the other hand, desired to make slavery legal within their own boundaries. Henry Clay suggested that the whole matter be settled by allowing Maine and Missouri to have their way. This would keep the two factions in the Senate equal, twelve states belonging to each. As for the rest of the Louisiana Territory, except Louisiana and Missouri, slavery should be forbidden in all that portion north of the parallel of 36° 30′. Nothing was said about the portion south of the line, but it was intended that it should be open to settlers with slaves.

The Missouri Compromise, as the bargain was called, was really a victory for those who wished to exclude slavery from the territories. Nine-tenths of Louisiana Territory lay north of 36° 30′.

The Purchase of Florida, 1819. — In 1819 a large extension of territory where slavery was already recognized partly compensated the South for what it was to lose by the Missouri Compromise. Ever since the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 the United States had tried to buy Florida from Spain. Finally, in 1819, an agreement was reached, and the United States purchased the whole territory of Florida for about $5,000,000. The United States agreed at the same time not to claim that Texas was a part of the old Louisiana Purchase; that is, to regard the Sabine River as the boundary between its own territory and Mexico. The purchase meant that the people of the South possessed the river courses over which their commerce traveled to the sea. Andrew Jackson had a short time before conquered the Creek Indians in

the southwestern part of Georgia and opened the lands to settlement.

Revolution in the Spanish Colonies. — Spain was the more ready to give up Florida as she was fighting hard to keep control of her colonies in Mexico and South America. Rebellion had broken out in those colonies when Napoleon declared his brother king of Spain. After the restoration of Ferdinand VII, whom Napoleon had held a prisoner, the colonists hoped that they would receive more rights in return for their loyalty. The Spanish government, however, was unwilling to grant to the colonists the privileges that the English colonists had enjoyed before the War of Independence.

The result was new revolutionary outbreaks, especially in the region of the La Plata River, now called the Argentine Republic, and in northern South America, now divided between the United States of Columbia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. The hero of the south was San Martin, the hero of the north Simon Bolivar. The story of San Martin's passage of the Andes to free Chili reads like Hannibal's march across the Alps two thousand years before. A still finer story tells how at the moment of triumph the liberator of the Argentine, Chili, and Peru laid down his office in order not to offend Bolivar, his more ambitious rival, who had just reached Peru. The last victory over Spain, making independence certain, was won at Ayacucho on December 9, 1824.

By this time, also, Mexico and the Central American States had won their independence. All that were left to Spain of her great colonial empire were Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. What a change had taken place within 50 years! In 1775 North and South America were principally made up of English and Spanish colonies. By 1825 these colonies had been transformed into republics, preserving the civilization which their settlers had learned from the European world, but free to manage their own affairs and guard their own interests.

The Last Resource of Spain. — In 1823 Ferdinand VII of Spain had hoped that the governments of France, Prussia,

Austria, and Russia would interfere before it was too late, and save his colonies in America. The European monarchs and their advisers remembered so vividly the French Revolution, and all that they had suffered from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic armies, that they were anxious to put down revolution everywhere. The possibility that European governments would send an expedition across the Atlantic excited the people of the United States. Fortunately the English were also opposed to such an attempt, chiefly because they enjoyed a thriving trade with the new republics, which they would lose if Ferdinand recovered his authority over his rebellious colonies.

Another danger seemed to threaten the Americans. While the English had been occupied in exploring and settling America, the Russians had advanced across Siberia, making scattered settlements as they went. They finally reached and crossed Bering Strait and moved down the western coast of North America, eager to gain the fur trade of the far Northwest. They claimed a part of the Oregon country and might compel Spain to grant them California in return for help in reconquering the Spanish colonies.

Just then, George Canning, one of the chief ministers of England, suggested that England and the United States join in a declaration "in the face of the world" that they would oppose the plans of the European monarchs for the reconquest of Spanish America. James Monroe was President of the United States, having been elected, practically without opposition, in 1817 and again in 1821. John Quincy Adams, his Secretary of State, urged that the United States make its declaration separately, "rather than come in as a cockboat in the wake of a British man-of-war." His opinion was adopted by the President.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1823. — Canning sent word to France that Great Britain would oppose any plan to subdue Spanish America. This made the plan impossible, for Great Britain controlled the sea as completely as she had after Nelson's great victory in 1805. When Congress met in

December, Monroe made the American declaration, which showed the European schemers that they would find difficulties on the land, even if they succeeded in crossing the sea. He said that the United States would resist any attempt to oppress or change the government of any free republic in America. He also said, with the Russians in mind, that the American continents were no longer open for colonization by any European governments. He did not intend, however, to meddle with any European colonies which, like Canada, were still left on this side of the Atlantic. Spain was soon obliged to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish American republics, and Russia agreed in 1824 not to extend her Alaskan territories south of the parallel 54° 40′.

JAMES MONROE

Questions

1. Why were there few immigrants to the United States from 1783 to 1815? Why did more come after 1815? From what part of Europe did they come? What did the new-comers find to do in the United States?

2. What two classes of settlers sought lands in the West? How did travelers reach the West? Where was the frontier at this time? In what two ways did settlers obtain lands? Why did immigrants settle the southern part of Indiana and Illinois before the northern? What new states were admitted soon after the War of 1812?

3. What were the chief occupations of frontiersmen like Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis? How did lawyers, judges, and preachers reach their work?

4. In what way did the southern frontier differ from the northern? What kinds of work did the slaves perform? What things made the plantation system successful? Why did many planters of the older states go to the new frontier? Where did the two streams of western migration meet? What region beyond the United States were the hardiest frontiersmen beginning to enter?

5. What new question was raised by the effort of Missouri to be

admitted as a state? Why were there differences of opinion about this? How was the question finally settled? Which gained an advantage by the Missouri Compromise, the North or the South?

6. What new territory partly compensated the South for the disadvantage of the Missouri Compromise? How was Florida secured? What arrangement was made about the western boundary of Louisiana? Why were the Mississippi Valley states very anxious to have Florida annexed?

7. What conditions in South America made Spain ready to sell Florida? Why did the Spanish colonies revolt? Who were the leaders in their war of independence? Which gained their independence? Which did not?

8. What plan did the king of Spain form for regaining his lost colonies? What was Russia trying to do at the same time? Why did these schemes alarm the United States? How did George Canning propose to prevent the reconquest of the Spanish colonies? Why did Adams dislike Canning's plan? What steps did Canning take for England and Monroe for the United States? Why would it have been impossible for the European nations to help Spain reconquer its colonies?

9. What did Monroe say the United States would resist? What did he declare about colonization of the American continents? What agreement did the United States make with Russia in 1824?

Exercises

1. Review the four great movements in American history taking place after the War of 1812 which are described in Chapters XXIV and XXV.

2. How does a territory become a state in the United States?

3. Write about the early life of Abraham Lincoln or Jefferson Davis.

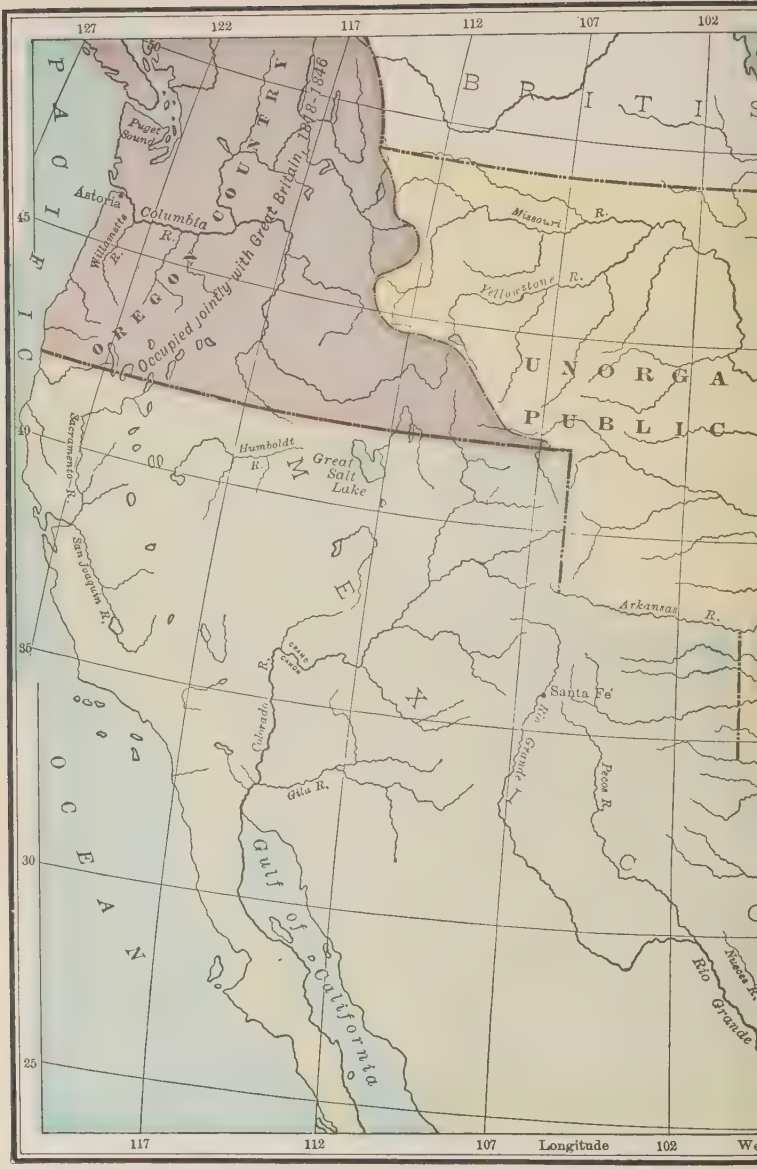
4. If the grandparents or great grandparents of any of the members of the class were pioneers at this time, such members should write a paper telling the story of their relatives.

5. Which was of the greater value — the help that France gave the United States in the Revolution, or the help that England and the United States gave the Spanish American Republics in 1823?

6. Monroe declared in the Monroe Doctrine that the colonization of the American continents was at an end. When did the colonization of the Americas begin?

Important Dates:

1809. February 12, birth of Abraham Lincoln.
1819. Florida purchased from Spain.
1820. The Missouri Compromise adopted by Congress.
1823. President Monroe announces the so-called Monroe Doctrine.


127
122
117
112
107
102
50
45
40
35
30
25
Longitude
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON COUNTRY
Occupied jointly with Great Britain, Dec. 8, 1846
BRITISH
UNORGANIZED
PUBLIC
MEXICO
Puget Sound
Astoria
Columbia R.
Williamette R.
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
Sacramento R.
Humboldt R.
Great Salt Lake
San Joaquin R.
Arkansas R.
Santa Fé
Rio Grande
Colorado
Gila R.
Pecos R.
Gulf of California
Nueces R.

The UNITED STATES
1825
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
POSSESSIONS
Lake Winnipeg
Lake of the Woods
L. SUPERIOR
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Red R.
Arkansas R.
Pearl R.
Alabama R.
Tombigby R.
Chattahoochee R.
Apalachicola R.
Escambia R.
Perdido R.
St. Mary's R.
St. Lawrence R.
St. John R.
L. Champlain
L. Ontario
L. Erie
L. St. Clair
L. Huron
L. Michigan
Penobscot R.
Kennebec R.
Androscoggin R.
Connecticut R.
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
Susquehanna R.
Potomac R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Cape Fear R.
Pedee R.
Savannah R.
Altamaha R.
St. Johns R.
Suwanee R.
Escambia R.
Toronto
Detroit
Buffalo
Albany
Oswego
Montreal
Portland
Concord
Boston
Hartford
New York
Trenton
Philadelphia
Wilmington
Baltimore
Washington
Erie
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Fr. Wayne
Peoria
Columbus
Cincinnati
Louisville
Cairo
Nashville
Memphis
Jefferson City
St. Louis
Little Rock
Natchez
Mobile
New Orleans
Pensacola
Milledgeville
Augusta
Charleston
Savannah
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Key West
Lake Okeechobee
Everglades
Richmond
Norfolk
Raleigh
1803
1816
1818
1821
1796
1817
1812
1819
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
MISSOURI TERRITORY
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
ARKANSAS
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK
CONN.
MASS.
R. ISLAND
VERMONT
N. HAMP.
MAINE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
92
87
82
77
72
67
60
40
35
30
25
from Greenwich

CHAPTER XXVI

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

Changes in Government. — Changes in the method of making articles, better ways of carrying them from place to place, the growth of cities, and the rapid increase in the population of the Mississippi Valley were not the only events of the period. Important changes occurred in the political life of the people. The idea that "all men are equal" affected more than ever the manner of governing states and nation. The older families from which had been drawn the leaders in colonial times and in the early days of the Republic were no longer preferred in elections and appointments.

The Right to Vote. — When Washington became President, scarcely one-fourth of the men were allowed to vote at elections. Voters and office-holders had to be owners of property, usually of land. Even Franklin said that men who had no land should not vote. In England the right to vote had gone with ownership of land. The colonies had adopted the same practice, and the framers of the first state governments continued it. But in the new states, whether Vermont east of the Alleghanies, or Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana, and the others in the Mississippi Valley, the settlers were very much alike and were willing to treat one another so. They quickly changed the notions that they had held in the older communities. The idea of a privileged class of persons seemed as foolish as a hereditary nobility or as kings by divine right. These states, accordingly, permitted all men to vote and hold office.

The eastern states were obliged to make the same change, otherwise the stream of emigration to the West would have been even greater. The change was not accomplished without long debates and many elections, for the older leaders

prophesied all sorts of terrible consequences. A few states clung to some of the established rules, Rhode Island for example, insisting that only owners of property should vote.

Religious Liberty. — Another change, which naturally accompanied manhood suffrage, was the grant of complete religious liberty. Massachusetts ceased to compel all taxpayers to support the Congregational Church. In South Carolina, Roman Catholics gained the right to vote. These are but two illustrations of a change which was general.

"Down with King Caucus." — The spirit of equality or democracy attacked still other customs. Candidates for the Presidency had been nominated by the members of Congress, those who belonged to each political party meeting in what was called a caucus. The custom gave to Congressmen an important privilege, and as they often held their places for long periods, a few men had a large influence in making presidents. A loud outcry was, therefore, raised against "King Caucus."

Many people wished to vote directly for their candidates, instead of voting for electors. Thomas H. Benton, a senator from Missouri, urged such a change. Several amendments to the Constitution were offered, but the plan failed. Two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress and three-fourths of the states must consent to an amendment, and Benton was not able to secure the approval of so large a majority.

The reformers, however, gradually brought about two changes: (1) that the people should vote directly for electors instead of leaving their appointment to the legislatures of the states, as had usually been the rule; and (2) that the nomination should be made by a convention of delegates from the states. It was already understood that the electors must vote for the person named by the caucus or convention.[1] In 1824 one of the candidates for President was selected by a

[1] The framers of the Constitution intended that the electors should choose the President, and not merely record the wishes of the voters of their states.

caucus of members of Congress, but that was the last time. For a few years a mixed system went on — sometimes the nomination was the work of state legislatures, sometimes a convention of delegates within the several states. Finally, in 1832, great national conventions met for the purpose of putting candidates before the country.

The people soon discovered that the overthrow of "King Caucus" had not gained for them a greater share in the selection of presidents. They had merely handed power to a new set of masters, the party managers or "bosses."[1] Calhoun thought that the people had lost by the change and that the "bosses" were worse than the Congressmen. At least one good result came from the long discussion of methods of nominating and electing presidents; the people began to think the office the most important in the Republic.

ANDREW JACKSON
In 1830. Age 63. After the portrait by R. W. Earl

Andrew Jackson's Election, 1828. — One reason why the common people began to feel so high a regard for the office was that Andrew Jackson, their idol, was chosen President in 1828. Jackson was born on the frontier in North Carolina. His parents were Scotch-Irish. Like all boys on the frontier, he received little schooling. Later he studied law and crossed the mountains to Nashville, then a small village. When Tennessee was admitted to the Union in 1796, Jackson was chosen its first representative in Congress. To reach Philadelphia he was obliged to ride on horse-back 800 miles, most of the way through an unsettled wilderness. His

[1] Sometimes the party managers or "bosses" were private citizens, sometimes they were local office-holders or members of Congress.

life since then had been spent chiefly in the army, where he became skillful in frontier fighting. The victory of New Orleans had made him a hero. Andrew Jackson was a typical westerner, and born leader of the common people.

In the presidential election of 1824 Jackson received the largest vote of any of the four candidates, but not a majority of all electoral votes. The choice of a President, therefore, belonged to the House of Representatives. Two of Jackson's rivals were John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. Their supporters in the House united and chose Adams. Jackson's friends thought that he had been cheated, because more men voted for him than for Adams, and they prepared to make his election sure the next time. The southerners, the frontiersmen and farmers of the West, the workmen in the factory towns — the common people, most of them the new voting class — rallied to Jackson's aid. Great was their joy when they knew that their chief was victorious. It seemed to them to be the beginning of new things, and in more ways than one they were right. No election since Jefferson's had meant so much.

Birthplace of Andrew Jackson

So great was the power which Jackson's triumph gave him that some timid politicians were afraid that the presidency might be changed into a kingship. Those who disliked his domineering ways called the period, "The reign of Andrew Jackson." For eight years, or two terms, he was President, and remained faithful to the cause of the common people.

Who shall hold the Offices? — President Jackson and his supporters had views about office-holding which now seem unwise or even harmful. For example, they believed it dan-

gerous to allow men to hold office a long time. They were afraid that officials would get the idea that an office was a piece of property which they owned and would grow careless about its duties. So the Jacksonians attacked long terms of office, just as people before them had attacked kingship and hereditary nobility.

Worse than this was the way they used offices to reward friends and to punish opponents. Jackson did not introduce the custom. It had been going on many years in some of the states. The men who came into power at Jackson's election demanded that the offices of the national government be distributed more freely among the common people. Shrewd political managers, with nothing else with which to pay their party followers, fell in with the idea. Jackson did not wish to turn honest and competent officials out, but he was easily persuaded that those who were "in" were incompetent rascals. To all complaints his friends replied, "To the victors belong the spoils."

WHAT JACKSONS OPPONENTS THOUGHT OF HIM

From a contemporary cartoon

New Political Parties. — Jacksonian democracy carried forward the ideas that Thomas Jefferson had taught, but went farther than he dreamed of going. Since his day the Republican party had absorbed most of his old opponents, the Federalists. Their attitude during the War of 1812 made them unpopular, and their party had melted away. The period after the war, when there was but one great party, has been called an "Era of Good Feeling." It is hard to find the good feeling among the leaders of the day, for there were really many different factions or groups within the Republican party. Some were the followers of Adams, some of Clay,

some of Calhoun, and some of Jackson. Upon Jackson's election his followers took possession of the old Jeffersonian Republican party. They kept its name a while, but were more commonly known as "Jackson men," and soon adopted the name of Democrats. The Democratic party of Jackson's day was really a new party — Jacksonian rather than Jeffersonian.

The opponents of Jackson claimed to be the true Jeffersonian Republicans — National Republicans they were called. These men, the followers of many different leaders, were united only in a dislike for Andrew Jackson. They accused him of restoring the kind of government against which the patriots had fought in the Revolution, because he had made the office of President so powerful. For this reason they called him "King Andrew," and his followers "Tories." They took for themselves the old Revolutionary party name of Whigs. The Whigs were chiefly interested in keeping up the tariff, having the national government aid the states in building canals and roads, and in opposing Jackson and the growth of the powers of his office. Their greatest leaders were Henry Clay of Kentucky and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts.

Democracy in Europe. — These changes in political life were not peculiar to the United States. The common people had not forgotten the ideas of equality and brotherhood proclaimed by the French Revolution, even if their rulers tried to compel them to act as if they had. In 1830 another revolution took place in France. The King, who was the younger brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI, was driven from his throne, and a cousin, Louis Philippe, was made king. Louis liked to be called the "Citizen King," and he went about the streets as an ordinary man. He also sent his sons to the public schools. He had once been a refugee in the United States, and loved to talk about the Americans to returned travelers.

General Lafayette was one of the leaders in this revolution. He would have preferred a republican government, but he

was more anxious to secure political liberty than any particular form of government, and supported the new king. A new law in France about doubled the numbers of voters.

A still more important change occurred in England. By the "Great Reform Bill" of 1832 the English parliament abandoned its old methods of representation and adopted plans more like those long used in America. The right to send members to parliament was taken from many communities with few inhabitants, which were controlled by the landowners, and it was given to the new factory cities like Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield. The right to vote was also extended greatly, though most of the workmen in the towns, and laborers everywhere, were still excluded. In neither France nor England did they go as far toward a more democratic government as in the United States, but a long step was taken in that direction.

Such changes in England meant that leadership was passing from the men who had looked upon the Americans as rebels. The new leaders were willing to acknowledge that English colonists in America had fought the battles of colonists everywhere. These leaders would soon be ready to give full rights of self-government to colonists like the Canadians who still remained loyal to the mother country.

Need of Freedom. — There were countries of Europe in which the people needed more than changes in the methods of government. They needed to be free from the rule of foreigners who years before had conquered them. This was especially true in Poland which had been divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; in parts of Italy, where the Austrians were rulers; and in Greece, which had long been oppressed by the Turks. The Greeks were at this time the most successful in freeing themselves. They were aided by many Englishmen and Frenchmen, who wanted to show their gratitude for all that the great Greek teachers had taught the world. Greece became independent in 1829. A year later the Poles made a brave attempt to drive out the Russians, but were overwhelmed by hosts of Russian sol-

diers. In Italy years more were to pass before the people of all parts of the peninsula were able to unite, and force the Austrians to give up Milan and Venice.

Questions

1. Name five important changes that were slowly going on in the United States. What restrictions had formerly been placed on voting and holding office? Why did the new states allow all men to vote and hold office? Why did the eastern states follow their example?

GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED BY CONGRESS TO ANDREW JACKSON

2. How had candidates for the presidency been nominated? What changes did Senator Benton attempt to make?

3. Who was chosen President in 1828? Why was he so popular?

4. What views did Jackson and his supporters have about office holding?

5. What became of the old Federalist party? What division took place in the Jeffersonian Republican party? What name did Jackson's followers take?

Exercises

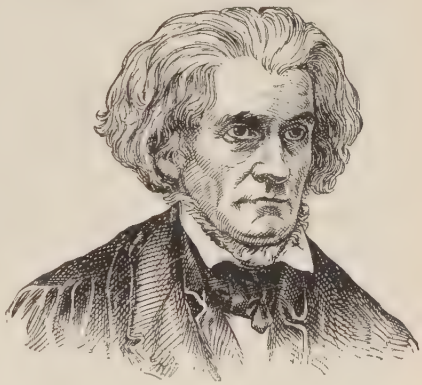
1. Learn the qualifications for voters. Have these always been the same?

2. Find out the number of voters in the precinct, the number who can vote, and the number who voted at the last election. Why do many fail to vote? How can an immigrant become a voter?

CHAPTER XXVII

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW DEMOCRACY

Strife over Tariffs. — The growth of the national industries and the spread of population gave Andrew Jackson and his successor, Martin Van Buren, several difficult problems to solve. The first of these was the tariff. When the tariff of 1816 was adopted by Congress, leaders of the South, like Calhoun, voted for it, believing protective duties advantageous to the southern, as well as to the northern, states. The South, however, soon found that taxes on clothing and tools, things needed on the plantations, were a serious burden. Cotton did not require protection by a tariff, because it was not imported, but exported. The southern leaders concluded that they were taxed for the benefit of the North. Matters were made worse when the extension of the plantation system, especially in the new Southwest, led to over-production of cotton and to low prices.



JOHN C. CALHOUN
After a portrait by De Bloch

The Idea of Nullification. — In the opposition to the tariff Calhoun, who was Vice-President, became the spokesman of the South. He had come to the conclusion that the new political methods, which were introduced mainly by the Jacksonians, strengthened the central government too much, destroying the original plan according to which one set of powers acted as a check upon another. To him the party

managers seemed to be gaining power in every direction through the choice of presidential electors directly by the voters, the convention system of nominating the President, and the spoils system, which was used to pay faithful party followers. Calhoun, therefore, fell back upon the old idea that the states, rather than the Supreme Court, were final judges of what the national government had a right to do.

In 1832 South Carolina, influenced by Calhoun, called a state convention which declared the tariff acts null and void. This meant that the national officers could not collect duties in the ports of South Carolina, and that if the United States used force, the state would withdraw from the Union.

Two years before this a great debate on the questions of states' rights had taken place in the United States Senate. Senator Hayne of South Carolina defended the ideas of Calhoun, and Senator Webster of Massachusetts argued that the powers of the national government were supreme. Webster closed one of his speeches with the exclamation, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." In these words he uttered what was in the hearts of multitudes, especially of the settlers of the newer western states.

Jackson and South Carolina. — Jackson had no special liking for the tariff, but he loved the Union as intensely as Webster. He denied that a state could set aside a law of the United States merely because it disliked the law. If war should become necessary, he declared that in forty days he would have 40,000 men in South Carolina. Men knew that he would make his words good. Henry Clay wished to keep Jackson from leading an army into South Carolina, and suggested a compromise in Congress. By it the tariff was gradually reduced to the level of 1816. Both sides claimed the victory, the United States because it had forced South Carolina to repeal its declaration against a tariff act, with all it had said about states' rights; South Carolina because it had forced Congress to lower the duties on imports.

More Talk of Nullification. — South Carolina was not the only state where men talked of nullifying national laws.

The United States had a dispute with Great Britain about the northeastern boundary. The King of the Netherlands was asked to act as an arbitrator, and in 1831 recommended that the United States give up part of the territory on the borders of Maine. Maine and Massachusetts were opposed to the plan of settlement, for it would have taken from Maine territory that she claimed and from Massachusetts the ownership of lands in the same territory. Both declared through their legislatures that the United States had no power to cede any portion of a state without its consent. They did not say that they would withdraw from the Union or fight if the United States accepted the decision of the King of the Netherlands, but that they would treat the decision as null and void. All trouble between the United States and the two northeastern states was avoided by setting aside the decision of the arbitrator and leaving the question of the boundary unsettled.

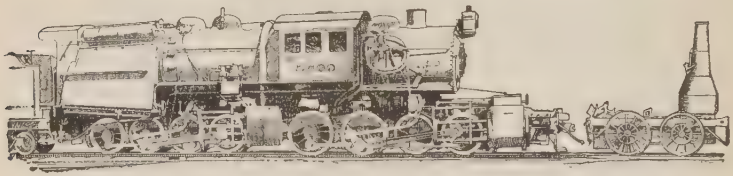
MAP SHOWING DISPUTED BOUNDARY OF MAINE

Other Hard Questions. — The tariff was the principal tax by which the national government raised enough money to pay its expenses. How the tariff should also be used to give aid to American industries was a hard question. Other questions, equally hard, faced the legislators and officers of the states. How much was it safe to expend on roads, canals, and other internal improvements? Should the state permit banks to issue paper money, when the states themselves were forbidden by the Constitution to issue such money?

Still other questions faced the business men of the country,

especially of the West. Was it wise to buy land for town sites, lay out streets and lots, on the chance that part of the great stream of emigration would turn in their direction and enrich those who were on the ground first? Should bankers lend money to men who would have nothing to pay the debt unless the town lots were bought speedily and the canals had a good deal of freight to carry? Was it right for a bank to issue paper money with very little coin in its vaults with which to redeem the notes?

Many of the canals were badly located and bound to fail. The main reason why they should have been planned more cautiously was the invention of the railroad and the locomotive. Railroads did not put an end to the usefulness of

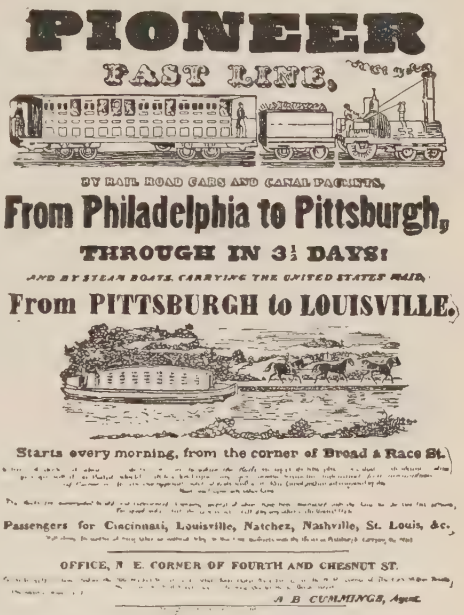


THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE BUILT IN THE UNITED STATES
Drawn on the same scale as the modern locomotive shown behind it

canals like the Erie, but they soon made many others unprofitable, causing the money expended upon them to become a total loss.

The Locomotive. — No invention has had greater influence on American history than that of the locomotive. For this the world is chiefly indebted to George Stephenson, the son of an English laborer. The story is told that in 1807 he wished to go to America, but found that he was too poor to pay his passage. As an engineer at a coal mine he learned all about the Watt steam-engine. Stephenson thought something like it could be used on the railroads which were being built for horse-cars. About 1814 he invented his first locomotive, — a rough, noisy, weak machine, — but he proved that it could draw cars for every-day business. By 1825 he was able to secure its introduction in place of horse-power on the new railroads, which were short lines about a dozen miles in length.

Introduction of the Locomotive in the United States. — The Erie Canal proved of so great benefit to business in New York City that other cities were anxious about their share of the western trade. Charleston, South Carolina, was the first to use one of the new locomotives on a railroad some six miles long. This was in 1830. Four years later the line was extended westward 137 miles to the Savannah River near Augusta. Meanwhile the owners of the short horse-car lines built from Baltimore and Philadelphia toward the West adopted the new power.[1]


PIONEER
FAST LINE,
BY RAIL ROAD CARS AND CANAL PACKETS,
From Philadelphia to Pittsburgh,
THROUGH IN 3½ DAYS!
AND BY STEAM BOATS, CARRYING THE UNITED STATES MAIL,
From PITTSBURGH to LOUISVILLE,
Starts every morning, from the corner of Broad & Race St.
Passengers for Cincinnati, Louisville, Natchez, Nashville, St. Louis, &c.
OFFICE, N. E. CORNER OF FOURTH AND CHESNUT ST.
A. B. CUMMINGS, Agent.

ADVERTISEMENT SHOWING METHOD OF TRAVEL FROM PHILADELPHIA TO PITTSBURGH IN 1837
Reduced facsimile

The locomotives were improved and gradually took the place of horses on all railroads. At first the locomotives could not climb steep grades or run very

[1] Peter Cooper built a locomotive for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, as the Baltimore line was called, and because it was small he called it the "Tom Thumb." Men had doubted whether a locomotive could run around curves without leaving the track. Cooper proved that his could round even sharp curves. A race with a horse-car ended the trial trip on the double track near Baltimore. The horse started quicker, but the puffing engine soon gained headway and caught up with the horse. Then the race was neck and neck with the iron steed gaining as the horse grew tired, but a pulley slipped off the engine and the horse-car finished first.

swiftly. Fourteen or fifteen miles an hour was the best they could do. Railroad builders were slow in learning how to build the tracks in order to endure hard usage. At the hills the locomotives stopped, and stationary engines with ropes dragged the cars up an inclined plane to the top, where another locomotive took the cars on the journey. Philadelphia used this system on part of the state highway to Pittsburgh, which was built to offset the advantage given to New York by the Erie Canal.

A Railroad Train in 1831
From an old print

Other Early Railroads. — Other regions became eager to have railroads. New York business men began short lines parallel to the Erie Canal. In 1841 Boston men began a railroad which was soon to reach Albany. The Baltimore and Ohio was steadily extended westward. By 1840 nearly 3,000 miles of railway had been built in the United States. It was, however, another ten years before the great railway era opened.

Cost of Railroads and Canals. — Some of the states which had borrowed money to build canals borrowed equally great sums to build railroads. Before 1838 Illinois borrowed for this purpose $7,400 000, nearly as much as New York and Pennsylvania together had borrowed. Illinois at that time was a frontier state, rich in land, but with only little money. Chicago was still a village. The states together had already borrowed for canals and railroads over $100,000,000. The difficulty was that everybody had borrowed too much. How would Jackson treat the situation?

Jackson destroys the Bank of the United States. — In 1816

a new Bank of the United States had been given a charter for twenty years. It was managed in such a way that it was always able to pay its notes in gold or silver. For this reason business men preferred its notes to the notes of the small state banks which sometimes were not paid. The state banks, therefore, wished to put an end to the Bank of the United States, which they said was trying to get all the business. The western farmers and the eastern workingmen also feared and hated the Bank. Jackson shared their feelings, mainly because he suspected that the Bank officials and their friends were meddling in politics and trying to control the government. His second campaign, in 1832, was fought on the question as to whether or not the Bank should be permitted to continue.[1] As he won, the Bank was obliged to close its relations with the United States by the time the charter ran out.

Getting Rich Quickly. — An era of unregulated or "wild cat" banking now set in. The "Get-rich-quick" fever seized nearly every one. The state banks, as the states did before the new Constitution forbade it, issued vast quantities of paper money. In 1834 the amount was $94,000,000, and in 1837, $149,000,000. A measure which Jackson adopted made the trouble worse. He deposited government money, formerly deposited in the Bank of the United States, in other banks. These banks, which his enemies called "pet" banks, became even more reckless in lending money. Seeing that the fever of speculation had reached the danger point, the government officials tried to reduce it by medicine which nearly killed the patient.

Panic of 1837. — The remedy was an announcement that the government would receive in payment for land only gold and silver. Buyers had been permitted to pay in the notes of the state banks. The change meant that the little coin that was in the vaults of the state banks might be drawn out and that their notes would be less likely to be paid than before.

[1] The Bank secured a charter from Pennsylvania and continued to do business as a state bank until it failed in 1841.

At the same time the eastern banks were affected by business depression in England. Englishmen tried to collect their loans and ceased buying cotton, so that the loans must be paid, if at all, in coin. Now every one who had lent began to fear the loss of his money and called upon borrowers to pay. The borrowers had not realized their dreams of wealth and had little with which to pay. Happily for Jackson, the crash did not come until his successor, Van Buren, had been inaugurated. Then banks, business houses, and factories failed, and thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment. It was five years before the country recovered from the after-effects of its first great fever of speculation.

Trade Unions. — None were affected more by the prosperous times of Jackson's administration or by the miseries of Van Buren's than the workingmen. They were now numerous enough in the larger cities and factory towns to form trade societies and general trade unions. The men of each trade formed a trade society; as, for example, the tailors or printers or shoemakers. Several trade societies of the same place formed together a general trade union.

According to English laws, which were not repealed until 1825, laborers who combined to gain high wages or to secure other benefits, especially by means of strikes, should be severely punished. The officials and judges in the United States at first treated the trade societies in the same way, sending their members to jail or fining them heavily. As the societies multiplied, this practice was abandoned.

What the Workingmen were seeking. — The workingmen's unions were, of course, interested in securing shorter hours of work and higher wages. They wished also to abolish the old system of imprisonment for debt and to obtain a general system of free public schools.

The unions then as now brought on strikes, and sometimes successfully bargained with their employers. Men who could say to their employers, "Raise our wages, or we will go to the West and take up farms," had an advantage that no

European laborers possessed. The fact that there was such an abundance of cheap land had a twofold effect on American life: (1) intelligent and thrifty workmen were able to choose between the wages offered and the western farm, and (2) so many went West that the trade societies did not grow very strong.

In some trades the employees were able to obtain a working day of ten hours. When hard times came on with the panic of 1837, laborers found that work was the thing they needed most. President Van Buren, like Jackson, was especially interested in their demands, and in 1840 he fixed ten hours as the length of day for employees of the government, thus setting a good example to private employers.

The Humanitarians. — The workingmen found the ballot their most useful weapon. In several cities they even formed separate political parties, but they usually voted with the Democratic party. They found allies in a group of men who took a deep interest in the welfare of the down-trodden and suffering everywhere. It was a period when intelligent men in England and Europe as well as America were growing more humane. In 1834 the "reformed" English parliament abolished slavery throughout the British empire. The leaders in this movement may be called humanitarians. Prominent among them in the United States were William Ellery Channing, Horace Mann, and William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison founded a paper in Boston in 1831 and devoted his life to denouncing the system of slave labor and calling for its immediate abolition. Few people were won over by his violent language, or as yet took any great interest in the subject.

Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt. — By 1840 the workingmen and humanitarians together brought to an end imprisonment for debt, a cruel practice which had come over from Europe. When Jackson became President 75,000 persons were sent to jail as debtors every year. In Philadelphia forty men were imprisoned for owing about sixty cents each. To make matters worse, the states as a rule failed to

furnish either food or clothing or fuel to the prisoners. They depended upon gifts for these, if their families could not care for them. Debtors were huddled together in the prisons with the worst criminals.

Free Elementary Schools. — The greatest triumph of the humanitarians, the workingmen, and the farmers of the western states was the establishment of a system of schools, supported by taxation, in nearly every state East and West. The New England states had long before this tried to provide free schools for all boys. But they were only partially successful. Elsewhere the "free schools" were for the children of the very poor and were really nothing more than "pauper schools." In most places the parents taught their own children or engaged a tutor for them, if they could afford one.

Horace Mann

The workingmen demanded free schools, supported out of taxes, for rich and poor alike. What is more, they kept the subject foremost and, with the help of educational reformers like Horace Mann, were generally successful. State after state voted that taxes should be used to establish elementary schools. The southern states, having no great body of free workingmen to ask for free schools, were an exception. These states, except South Carolina and North Carolina, made little effort to establish such schools, but continued to depend on family tutors or small private schools. In the West the states were aided by the wise system begun by the Congress of the Confederation of giving one section in each township for the benefit of the common schools.

Girls admitted. — In colonial days girls were seldom admitted to the town schools, and then only at odd times

when the boys were not in school. One writer says, "In all my school days, which ended in 1801, I never saw but three females in public schools, and they were only there in the afternoon to learn to write." [1] A more liberal attitude prevailed soon after this writer's school days closed. The towns which established free public schools for boys also opened them to girls. In a few of the older cities on the coast separate schools were established for the girls. But most towns were too poor to build two schools. Even in those which succeeded, the girls' school was not as good as that of the boys.

High Schools. — The new interest in education led quickly to the founding of free high schools.[2] Boston had one in 1821, Philadelphia in 1839, and the number increased rapidly with each year. Many of the older towns had private academies, and did not find it necessary to start new schools. This was especially true where the old academies had money enough so that they could give a free education to the children of the town. Here too some cities built separate high schools for boys and girls, but the smaller and newer towns generally admitted the girls to the boys' high school as the better arrangement.

Colleges and Universities. — Places of higher education also increased with the spread of the population west of the Alleghanies and with the growing prosperity of the whole country. The churches were especially active in establishing colleges for the frontier communities. The movement did not stop here. North Carolina in 1789 and South Carolina in 1801 had begun the practice of establishing a university at state expense. With the organization of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois, the United States adopted the plan of giving to each new state or territory lands, from the sale of

[1] There were many small private schools for girls, but few could afford to attend them.

[2] See page 51. A few schools which were really high schools had been established in colonial days, but usually boys prepared for college at the private academies.

which they were to start a state university.[1] In 1819, chiefly through the influence of Jefferson, Virginia also established a university. These institutions had very small resources, and were little more than high schools.

None of the new colleges admitted women, nor in fact did any of the older eastern colleges.[2] Many people thought that women should confine their studies to elementary subjects and their activities to the affairs of the home, and even more doubted the ability of women to succeed in the studies of the college. But the founders of Oberlin College believed that women should have the same opportunity as men, and in 1833 admitted both on the same terms. The movement for the education of women spread, at first chiefly through the founding of seminaries. Of these the most famous were the Mount Holyoke Seminary, established by Mary Lyon at South Hadley, Massachusetts, and the Troy Female Seminary by Emma Willard at Troy, New York.

Mary Lyon

Newspapers, Magazines, and Books. — The teachers in the schools prepared young people to read and to understand what they read. The work of writers, as well as of teachers, had been greatly improved. Editors of newspapers, quick to see the changes taking place, began to make their papers true mirrors of the time. Their articles ceased to deal, as in colonial days, chiefly with pestilence and war, or with strange happenings in distant lands and earlier ages. They described

[1] This plan was first used by the United States in the sale of land to the Ohio Company, in 1787, giving two townships for a university.

[2] The University of Iowa, founded in 1856, was the first state university to open its doors to women.

the daily life of the city where the paper was published. The fact that the post-office now carried newspapers as mail spread their influence into country districts.

When Washington was President newspapers were founded to defend the measures of Hamilton and of Jefferson. Later others were published to support the new political parties. In 1829 a new kind of paper made its appearance. It was called the Workingman's Advocate. The editors were two young mechanics, and they took this way to promote the reforms that workingmen sought. They hoped to interest every toiler in the improvement of his lot.

WASHINGTON IRVING

JAMES FENNIMORE COOPER

Magazines were also becoming more numerous. Some of the titles would seem strange to us. There was one at Philadelphia named *The Monthly Repository of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment.* Others, like *The Christian Advocate*, were started to advance the cause of religion. These magazines took the place in American homes held in colonial days by the almanacs.

The writers of stories began to tell of the country in which they lived and of its past. Washington Irving related in *Rip Van Winkle* and *Sleepy Hollow* the legends of the Hudson and the Catskills which he had known so well as a boy. James Fennimore Cooper aroused a love of country by tales of American adventure, such as *The Spy*, the story

of a spy who served John Jay during the Revolution, and *The Pilot*, the adventures of John Paul Jones at sea. *The Last of the Mohicans* described life in the deep forests of central New York, where Cooper spent his boyhood, and the Indians, now disappearing before the whites. What Irving and Cooper did to make the state of New York and its people interesting to Americans, others were doing for other regions.

Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote many stories of the Puritans in colonial New England: *Mosses from an Old Manse*, *Twice Told Tales*, *The House of Seven Gables*, and *The Scarlet Letter*. Hawthorne's friend and classmate at college, Henry W. Longfellow, professor at Harvard College, was writing his story-poems of American history. He told of the deported Acadians in *Evangeline*, of the early days in Plymouth Colony in *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, and of life among the Indians in *Hiawatha*. Many other writers contributed to American literature.

There were poems and stories of out-of-door life, such as William Cullen Bryant's *To a Waterfowl*, and Henry D. Thoreau's *Life in the Woods*. There were songs such as *Home Sweet Home*, by John Howard Payne, and *The Old Oaken Bucket* by Samuel Woodworth. According to many the mastercraftsman was Edgar Allen Poe, whose poems, *The Raven*, *The Haunted Palace*, *The Conqueror Worm*, and *The Bells*, showed that American writers, as well as those of Great Britain, knew the power and beauty of the English language. Americans still eagerly read the books which English writers produced. The novels of Walter Scott and of Charles Dickens were very popular in the United States. Those who had learned French, German, and Italian added the books of the Continent to their libraries, and so gained instruction and pleasure from the literature of the world.

Questions

1. What difficult problem did Jackson have to face? Why had the South at first supported a protective tariff? Why did it later oppose one? What authority did Calhoun think should be the final judge of the powers of the national government?

2. What step did South Carolina take in 1832? What different views did Calhoun and Webster hold about the Union? What did Jackson say he would do if South Carolina resisted a law of the United States? What was Clay's compromise? Why did both parties to the dispute think they had won?

3. Where else did men talk about nullifying national acts? How was trouble with the northeastern states avoided?

4. What other difficult question did Jackson have to meet?

5. Why was the investment of so much money in canals a mistake? Who invented the locomotive? Where was it first used in the United States?

6. What cities soon had railroads? Why did the building of railroads give the states much trouble?

7. Why was the Bank of the United States unpopular? How did it come to an end? Why did this bring on "wild-cat" banking?

8. What measure did Jackson adopt which made the "get-rich-quick" fever worse? What remedy did Jackson try next? How did the panic of 1837 affect the country?

9. Describe the organization of the workingmen. How did the government at first deal with such organizations? What were the unions seeking to do? What two great reforms did working people bring about with the help of reformers?

10. How were the western states aided in founding public schools? Why did most towns admit boys and girls to the same school? What higher school did the towns begin establishing a little later?

11. How did the new states secure colleges and universities? Which was the first state to have a university of its own? Which was the first college to admit women on the same terms as men?

12. How were the newspapers changing? The magazines? The books? What books told of the country in which Americans lived? Who were the writers of these books? What stories of the out-of-door life did the people now have? What poems showed the power and beauty of the English language?

Exercises

1. Do we have a protective tariff to-day? Prepare a list of articles protected by import duties.

2. The members of the class should learn when the first railroad was built in their region. Did the state, the county, the township, or the town help build it?

3. Learn about some local trade union, when it was founded, its size, and objects.

4. What caused the great panic of 1837?

CHAPTER XXVIII

NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES BRING ON NEW QUESTIONS

The Spaniards in Texas. — The Republic of Mexico bordered the United States on the southwest. Texas was the nearest of its provinces. The Spanish had known of Texas since Coronado's famous journey, but had done almost nothing towards its settlement. Enterprising priests and their helpers had built up several Indian mission villages, as they did in New Mexico and California, where they taught the Indians the Catholic religion and the methods of work of civilized men. The Indians did not like restraint and often broke away, resuming their old nomadic life. The Spanish explorers in Texas were not followed by eager settlers as explorers were in the United States. Two or three small white settlements, the chief one at San Antonio, formed the only centers of Spanish colonization.

Pioneers open a New Region for Americans. — Moses Austin and his son Stephen were the pioneers who prepared the way for the settlement of Texas. Moses Austin had moved from his birthplace in Connecticut to Pennsylvania, and then to western Virginia, and on to Missouri, where he founded a colony on what was still foreign soil. With the restlessness of the pioneer, he and his son made plans for another colony in Texas. Frontiersmen were crowding to the western borders of the United States in search of land. Texas offered them all that was desired — fertile land, a mild and healthful climate, and abundant waterways for travel and trade.

In 1820 the Austins applied for permission to settle in Texas and for grants of land. The Mexicans, who became independent the following year, made generous terms. The Austins had asked for six hundred and forty acres of land for

each head of a family. They were given seven times as much, with an additional allowance for the wife, children, and slaves of each family. No wonder that the pioneers found it easy to persuade men to go to the new West! Moses Austin died before the colonists were ready to start for the new lands, but his son carried out the plan. The little Spanish settlements of about 3,000 were increased fourfold in less than seven years. This was only the beginning. Most of the new settlers were from the United States, and chiefly, too, from the southern part. Many of them were planters with

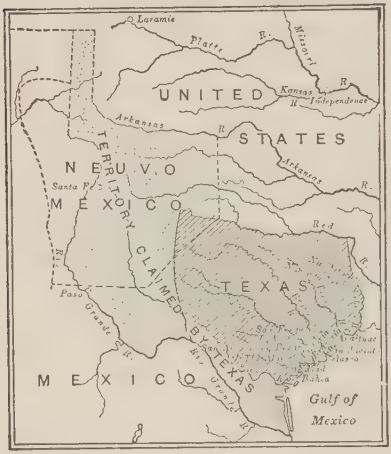
San Antonio in 1848

slaves, who planned to raise cotton. Thus the slave system spread farther westward.

Another War of Independence. — The people of Texas soon had trouble with the government of Mexico. In many ways it was the old story of discontent, revolution, and final independence. The Mexicans tried to stop immigration from the United States, abolished slavery, and withdrew nearly all the grants of land. The Texans paid no attention to these laws, kept the frontier open by force, and continued to bring in slaves. A war for independence followed. In this David Crockett, a famous frontiersman, lost his life. Volunteers poured in from the southern states to help the Texans. Their leader was General Sam Houston, a friend of Andrew Jackson. In 1836 Houston won a decisive victory

at San Jacinto, capturing the president of Mexico and destroying his entire army. This ended the war. Texas adopted a form of government resembling that of the United States. It contained, however, provisions expressly forbidding the emancipation of slaves.

The Republic of Texas, 1836–1845. — The new republic claimed the territory lying along the Gulf coast from the borders of the United States to the Rio Grande River. It was large enough to contain 45 states like Massachusetts, or larger than Great Britain and France taken together. Mexico did not acknowledge that Texas was independent, much less that its boundaries extended to the Rio Grande. But Texas was in no more danger of being reconquered by Mexico than Mexico and the other Spanish-American republics were of being reconquered by Spain.



MAP OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS
Showing territory claimed by Texas

Shall Texas be annexed? — In 1836 the people of Texas asked to be admitted into the Union as a state. A few years earlier every section of the United States had wanted to acquire Texas. Presidents Adams and Jackson had in turn tried to purchase it from Mexico. Now the request of Texas was rejected. Since the quarrel in Congress over slavery in the Louisiana Territory and the Missouri Compromise, many northern people were unwilling to admit any territory where slave laborers could work profitably. Others were anxious to avoid further dispute over the subject. Besides, President Van Buren thought that the United States ought not to take territory from a friendly neighbor, for Mexico con-

tinued to claim Texas. There the matter rested for several years. Mexico, however, made no serious effort to reconquer her lost province.

Our Canadian Neighbors secure Self-Government. — The war of Texas for independence was scarcely over when a struggle broke out in Canada. In Lower Canada, or the Province of Quebec — the old French colony — a large majority of the people were descendants of the original French population. Upper Canada, now Ontario, had been settled by English-speaking people from the United States and Great Britain. In both Canadas British officials, supported by the older British families, governed. The French and the recent immigrants were left out. In 1837 the French took up arms. Some of their leaders hoped to establish an independent republic at Quebec. A few of the Upper Canadians also rose in rebellion, seeking to secure a share in the government. Both rebellions were put down, but England took warning, doubtless recalling the manner in which she had lost thirteen colonies in America. The two Canadian provinces were united, and then permitted to govern themselves. In name they were still under the British crown; in fact they formed a free republic. The other British colonies in America — Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island — as well as other British colonies in Australia and South Africa soon gained the same privileges without a struggle.

The Westward Movement in Canada. — Canada, as well as the United States, had a westward movement. While the Quebec and Montreal regions remained chiefly French, thousands of immigrants from the British Isles went annually to Upper Canada. Others left their small or worn-out farms in New England, New York, or Pennsylvania, and moved across the border. The nearness and cheapness of the lands attracted many who dreaded the longer journey into the Mississippi Valley. The same steady stream of pioneers pushed to the frontier on each side of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. Canals were built around the rapids in the St. Lawrence, and the Welland Canal between Lake Erie and

Lake Ontario made the north shore as accessible to the sea by way of Quebec, as the south was by the Erie Canal through New York.

The Hudson Bay Company in the Northwest. — The settlers never went far from the St. Lawrence waterway. The great Northwest was still unsettled — the haunt of the trapper and the fur trader. The lonely stations of the Hudson Bay Company stretched from the outskirts of Upper

TRADING POST OF THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY AT FOND DU LAC, NEAR DULUTH

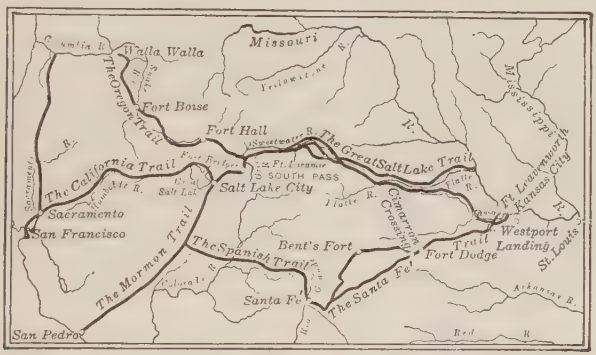
From a sketch made in 1828

Canada to Hudson Bay and Alaska and Oregon. The company's officers opposed settlement, for that would disturb the work of the trapper and the Indian trader. But they had little fear for the security of their vast domain. Certainly no one then dreamed of farming in the cold northern land. The only signs of coming conflict with the pioneer were on the Columbia River in Oregon.

Trail Makers. — In America land-seeking never ceased. Pioneers followed the trail of the Indian and the trapper, and carried civilization into Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa. In the Rocky Mountains, fur traders from St. Louis were the advanced guard. As a century earlier such men had made their way through the Alleghanies into Ohio and Kentucky,

they now marked out trails across the prairies and found the passes through the Rocky Mountain barrier. The Oregon Trail followed the Missouri and the Platte Rivers, across the mountains at South Pass into Oregon. At Westport Landing on the Missouri River, now Kansas City, a trail started which extended 700 miles across the prairies to Sante Fé. A third, the California Trail, branched from the Oregon Trail.

On the Oregon Trail. — The boldest pioneers in the United States followed the Oregon Trail to Oregon. Missionaries to the Indians entered soon after the trappers and traders



THE PRINCIPAL WESTERN TRAILS

and then settlers entered. Many men went out of pure love of adventure, as one quaintly said, "Because the thing wasn't fenced and nobody dared to keep 'em out." For whatever reason they migrated to Oregon, they were making it real American soil more rapidly than the Hudson Bay Company was making it English.

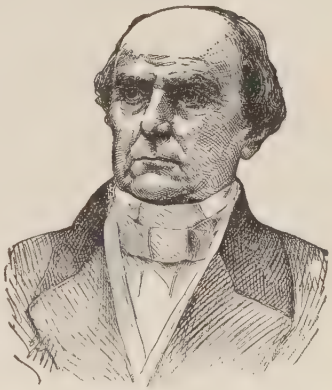
For protection against the Indians the emigrants journeyed in caravans. Each family traveled with its household goods in a large canvas-covered wagon, called a prairie schooner, much like the Conestoga wagon of the earlier frontier. Riding horses were taken for use on the way, and cattle for stock in the new country. Each man had his duties as scout, hunter, or watchman for the party. The caravan camped at night where water and grazing land could be found, with

wagons drawn up like a circular fort. By day they moved slowly over the prairies and the mountain trails. Such a pilgrimage lasted three or four months. Births and weddings and deaths were frequent interruptions of such little migrating worlds. Francis Parkman has told the story of life on the Oregon Trail as he saw it in 1846.

PASS THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS ON THE OREGON TRAIL
Sweetwater Gap

Americans settle Oregon. — In 1843 the settlers in Oregon, in true pioneer style, formed a government for themselves and so laid the foundations for later states in the Far West. Explorers, missionaries, and pioneers had seemingly won southern Oregon, at least, for the United States. Both England and the United States claimed the whole territory from California to Alaska, and for the time being held it jointly. A few American statesmen thought that nature had fixed the Rocky Mountains, bordered as they were with deserts of sand, as the final western limit. They scoffed at the settlement of Oregon and opposed its annexation. Others held a different opinion. Senator Thomas Benton, himself a pioneer of Missouri, championed the cause of Oregon in Congress. He had great faith in the future of the West, even to the shores of the Pacific. The majority of the American people agreed with him. They even talked about war with England, asserting that they must have all the territory south of the parallel 54° 40′ "or fight."

Boundary Disputes. — John Tyler was then President. He had been elected as Vice-President, but General William Henry Harrison, the Whig candidate who had won the election of 1840, died within a month after his inauguration. Tyler had more sympathy with the Democrats than with the Whigs. The only Whig who remained in his cabinet was Webster. In 1842 Webster signed a treaty with the British minister Ashburton settling the boundary dispute on the northern border of Maine. Like most agreements of that kind, the treaty was a compromise, each side giving up its extreme claims. No progress was made in deciding the Oregon question.



DANIEL WEBSTER
After a daguerreotype of 1850

On the question of Texas, Webster and Tyler did not agree, for Tyler was anxious to annex Texas. Calhoun was, accordingly, made Secretary of State, and he signed a treaty of annexation with Texas. When it was sent to the Senate for approval, the senators voted against it 35 to 16. This made the question an issue in the election of 1844. Clay, the Whig candidate, had been opposed to annexation, while the platform of James K. Polk, the Democratic candidate, declared not only that Texas should be annexed, but also that the whole of Oregon to the parallel 54° 40′ should be held. Polk wished, furthermore, to gain California. He was successful in the election, although he had only 40,000 votes more than Clay. This meant that Texas would surely be annexed, and Oregon and California, too, if Polk could find a way to obtain them.

Questions

1. What had the Spaniards done toward colonizing Texas? What American formed a plan for the settlement of Texas? What terms

was he able to obtain from Mexico? Why were the Mexicans so liberal? What success had the Austins?

2. What were the causes of the Texan war of independence? How long did Texas remain an independent republic? Why was the request of Texas for annexation at first rejected by the United States?

3. What caused the rebellion in Canada in 1837? What changes did Great Britain make in the government of Canada? Where else were liberal privileges of government allowed?

4. Describe the westward movement in Canada. From what parts of the United States did emigrants go to Canada? Where did they settle? Why did they go there in preference to the western part of the United States?

5. What region did the Hudson Bay Company occupy? Where were the fur traders coming into conflict with the pioneers?

6. What new barrier did the trail-makers pass? What trails did they make?

7. Describe emigration over the Oregon Trail. What step toward permanent occupation did the Oregon settlers take in 1843?

8. What arrangement did the United States have with England about Oregon? What opinion did Americans have of the country?

9. How was the northeastern boundary dispute with England finally settled?

10. What was the main issue in the presidential election of 1844? What did Polk and his party wish to do?

Exercises

1. Review the northward movement of Spanish settlers from Mexico. See pages 193–4.

2. Compare the reasons for seeking independence in the three Revolutions, (1) Texan, (2) Spanish American, and (3) The English Colonies, pages 136, 149, 279–280.

3. Prepare a map of Texas, on the same scale as that of Texas in any geography, and place it on a map of the United States with the center on Nashville. What part of the larger map does the map of Texas cover? Compare the area and population of Texas with that of Japan.

Important Dates:

1842. The United States and Great Britain peaceably settle the northeastern boundary dispute.

CHAPTER XXIX

HOW THE UNITED STATES WON THE PACIFIC COAST

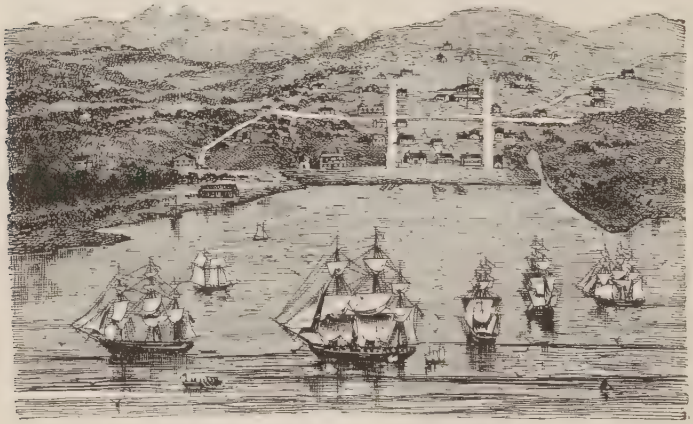
Annexation of Texas. — The Democrats, victorious in the election of 1844, did not wait until Polk was inaugurated before carrying through the annexation of Texas. Some of them believed the rumors which were flying about that England was preparing to acquire California and possibly Texas. As they did not have votes enough in the Senate to ratify a treaty of annexation with the Republic of Texas, they adopted the plan of annexing it by a resolution passed both by the House of Representatives and the Senate. The vote in the Senate was close — 27 to 25. The resolution was passed March 1, 1845, and was accepted by Texas in December.

Annexation alone would probably not have brought on a war with Mexico, but Polk had other plans which did. He insisted that the Rio Grande River, instead of the Nueces River, was the southern boundary of the new state. He also supported the Texans in claiming that Texas included at least part of New Mexico. Furthermore, he meant to have California, by purchase, if possible, but at all events to have it.

The California Question. — California in 1845 was an outlying, neglected province of Mexico. Its missions had fallen into decay and most of the Indians had left the mission villages. The inhabitants were mainly Spaniards and Mexicans occupied in raising cattle. California was worth much more than the $25,000,000 Polk was ready to give, but that was not the reason why the Mexicans did not wish to sell. When Polk sent a special agent to bargain with them, they would not receive him and began to prepare for war. Polk now determined to seize the territory between the Nueces

and the Rio Grande. He also planned to ask Congress to declare war because the Mexicans would not receive his representative or settle the differences with the United States. He had a real grievance in the long delay of the Mexicans to pay damages for American property which they had destroyed during the civil wars since the overthrow of the Spanish government.

Outbreak of War. — The Mexicans soon gave him a better excuse. When General Zachary Taylor, upon Polk's orders,



VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO IN 1847
With American ships in the harbor

advanced to the banks of the Rio Grande, the Mexicans attacked him. As soon as Polk heard of the attack he placed the blame for war upon the Mexicans, declaring in a message to Congress that, "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." Congress did not declare war upon Mexico, but adopted an act "for the prosecution of the existing war." The anti-slavery men were violently opposed to the war, because they believed its purpose was to add more territory in which slaves could be held.

The Oregon Compromise. — As soon as Polk knew that he was likely to have a war with Mexico on his hands, he was

117
107
97
BRITISH AMERICA
OREGON
TERRITORY
MINNESOTA
TERRITORY
MISSOURI
TERRITORY
UNITED STATES
IOWA
TERRITORY
CEDED BY
MEXICO
TO THE
UNITED STATES
1848
GREAT SALT LAKE
SALT LAKE CITY
SAN FRANCISCO
MONTEREY
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
SANTA FE
LAS VEGAS
CANADIAN
GADSDEN
PURCHASE
1853
TEXAS
ANNEXED 1845
SAN ANTONIO
SAN JACINTO
CHIHUAHUA
GUAYMAS
CORPUS CHRISTI
GULF
OF
MEXICO
PACIFIC
OCEAN
SALTILLO
MONTEREY
BUENA VISTA
MATAMORAS
MAZATLAN
VICTORIA
TAMPICO
SAN LUIS POTOSI
MEXICO
VERA CRUZ
CERRO GORDO
MANZANILLO
CONTRERAS
ACAPULCO
TROPIC OF CANCER
40
30
20
MAP SHOWING THE
TERRITORY ACQUIRED
FROM MEXICO
AS THE RESULT OF
THE MEXICAN WAR
Longitude West
from Greenwich

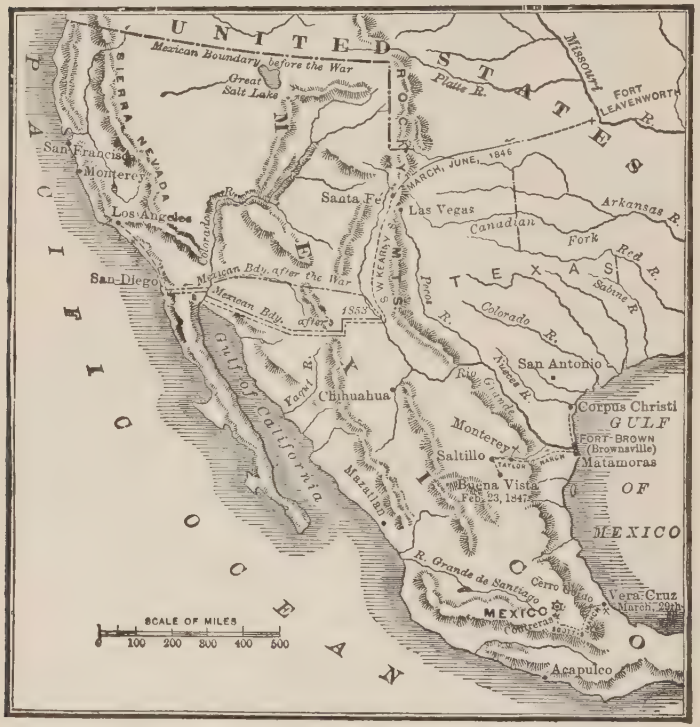
willing to give up the extreme claims of the United States in the dispute with Great Britain over Oregon. If he insisted on demanding, as his party had done in the recent election, " 54° 40′ or fight," he might have drawn the country into a war with England, and that was not the same as a war with Mexico. Polk, therefore, quietly offered to accept the 49th parallel as the dividing line. This parallel was the northern boundary of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. The same offer had been made several times since 1818, but the English had not been ready to accept it. The treaty was made in June, 1846. The bargain was fair to both sides and a wise settlement of the dispute. The territory included the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

THE OREGON COMPROMISE

The War with Mexico, 1846–1847. — The war with Mexico lasted less than two years, though this was longer than Polk had expected. General Taylor took possession of the sparsely settled provinces of northern Mexico after hard fighting at Monterey and Buena Vista. General Kearny led a smaller force from Fort Leavenworth over the Sante Fé Trail to California, seizing New Mexico on the way. He found California already in the hands of an American naval force. It could hardly be called the conquest of California, for there was no Mexican army to conquer and the Californians offered little resistance.

In 1847 Polk sent General Winfield Scott to make a direct attack on the capital of Mexico. Scott followed closely the route of Cortés into the heart of the country. The natives

outnumbered the invaders and fought with all the fury of the Aztecs, but the better organization, discipline, and leadership of the American troops won. The ancient capital of Mexico was taken and the last army of resistance broken up.



MAP OF THE MEXICAN WAR

Terms of Peace with Mexico, 1848. — In 1848 Polk made his own terms of peace with the feeble government which was left in Mexico. Many urged that all of Mexico be annexed, but Polk was satisfied to leave the unfortunate republic independent, although humiliated and crippled. He compelled the Mexican government to acknowledge that the Rio Grande River was the boundary of Texas and to give up New Mexico and California. He had been ready to

pay something for this territory, and he now agreed to give $15,000,000 directly, besides $3,500,000 to those Americans who claimed damages from Mexico.[1]

Discovery of Gold in California, 1848. — One part of the new territory awakened immediate interest. A few days before Mexico agreed to the terms of peace, gold was discovered in California. Some laborers engaged in building a sawmill in the Sacramento Valley turned up the earth and found yellow grains which proved to be gold. They soon discovered more, widely scattered in the sand. The news spread. Sawmills, farms, and shops lost their interest for the settlers of

SACRAMENTO IN 1848

California. All were abandoned. Even the courts were closed for want of anybody to attend them. A ship which came to anchor in San Francisco Bay was immediately deserted by the crew. The captain saw nothing better to do and set off for the diggings, leaving his ship under the care of his wife. Within a year $5,000,000 worth of gold had been taken out and during the next ten years nearly one hundred times as much. Many of the American people, therefore, looked upon the war with Mexico as a piece of good fortune.

[1] Trouble arose over the location of the boundary between the Rio Grande and the Colorado Rivers, and in 1853 the United States avoided war by purchasing from Mexico a strip of territory south of the Gila River. It was called the Gadsden Purchase from James Gadsden, who was the purchasing agent.

"The Forty-niners." — The discovery of gold in California gave the westward movement a new turn. The adventurers who went out the next year, the "Forty-niners," were more like the Argonauts of old or De Soto's men seeking the El Dorado in North America than the other pioneers. Emigrants from Europe and from the eastern states sailed around Cape Horn or crossed the Isthmus of Panama. Those who went by the Isthmus of Panama rode mules across the narrow pass, braving the dangers of tropical fever and of robber bands. Steamboats, which were just coming into use

THE OVERLAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

for long voyages, found crowds at New York and Panama clamoring for passage.

The favorite route for most American immigrants started on the Missouri and followed the Oregon Trail and its branch to California. Caravans of prairie schooners, cavalcades of horsemen, the poorer adventurers afoot, dotted the trail on the desert plains. Their number made the Oregon migration seem small by comparison. On the trail the "Forty-niners" passed Salt Lake where the Mormons,[1] a new religious sect, were irrigating the sage-brush plain and turning it into fertile farm land. They had discovered the true source of wealth, as the Californians were later to learn.

A few of the "Forty-niners" found fortunes, but most of

[1] The Mormons built their first "temple" at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836. They reached Utah in 1847.

them made barely enough to pay their expenses, and all suffered hardships in fever-ridden, half-famished camps. Prices rose faster than gold could be dug to meet them. Spades and shovels were $10 apiece; a shirt cost $40; a candle, $3; a barrel of pork, $200. The average profit in digging gold never exceeded $1,000 a year.

The discovery of gold affected many persons besides the miners who went to California. It increased the amount of money. Business men could borrow on easier terms for their enterprises. The consequence was a new period of feverish activity, like that which followed the building of the National Road, the Erie Canal, and the first railroads.

Colton Hall, Monterey, the First Capitol of California

California Ready to become a State. — The population of California grew by leaps and bounds. Within two years it had increased tenfold. The old Spanish and Mexican population was only a small part of the whole. San Francisco changed from a village into one of the large cities of the United States, with 20,000 inhabitants. It was a real babel of languages — English, German, Spanish, Hawaiian, Chinese, and Malay. California in 1849 formed a government of its own and was ready to enter the Union. As the people were almost all free workingmen, it is not surprising that they forbade slavery entirely. The desire of the settlers that California should be admitted to the Union without slavery again raised the slavery question, dividing men in the South and the North into two hostile groups. It threw all other

questions into the background and became the principal political issue.

A Frontier on the Pacific. — The acquisition of California and the establishment of the American claim to Oregon secured a new frontier. The United States now faced the Pacific Ocean as well as the Atlantic. It had ceased to be chiefly an outlying part of Great Britain and Europe, offering new homes to those who wished to leave the old, and had become a world, looking eastward toward Europe and westward toward Asia, desiring friendship and commerce with both. One reason why the government was so eager to

A Mexican Home in the Old Town of San Diego, California
Ramona is said to have been married here

obtain California was to open a more direct trade with China and the Pacific islands. In 1844 China had agreed to permit Americans to trade in five ports. Ten years later, Japan, also long closed to foreigners, opened ports to American traders. American missionaries were already influential in the Hawaiian Islands.

Questions

1. Why were the Democrats in a hurry to annex Texas? How did they bring it about?

2. What plans had Polk which brought on war with Mexico? What real grievances did the United States have against Mexico? How did the war actually begin? Who was to blame? Why were the anti-slavery men opposed to the war?

3. How did Polk secure Oregon? Did he obtain all of the Oregon country?

4. What did Taylor's, Kearny's, and Scott's armies accomplish in the war? Why were they victorious?

5. What were Polk's terms of peace with Mexico?

6. What event of 1848 made the war with Mexico seem particularly timely to many Americans? Describe the migration of the "Forty-niners."

7. What new settlement did the "Forty-niners" pass on the California trail? How did the majority of the California gold-seekers finally find wealth? How did the discovery of gold affect business in the United States?

8. Describe California in 1850. Why did the Californians forbid slavery?

9. What further effect had expansion on the United States? What foreign trade privileges were gained about this time?

Exercises

1. Compare the ways by which the government of the United States annexed Louisiana and Texas.

2. Was the war with Mexico honorable to the United States?

3. Why may the migration of the "Forty-niners" be compared to the Argonauts or De Soto's El Dorado seekers?

4. Compare the area of California with that of some of the older states.

Important Dates:

1845. Texas annexed.
1846. Oregon secured by a compromise with Great Britain, and the war with Mexico begins.
1848. Discovery of gold.

SUTTER'S FORT IN 1848
Near which gold was first found in California

CHAPTER XXX

A GREAT DOMAIN, NEW TOOLS, AND WILLING HANDS

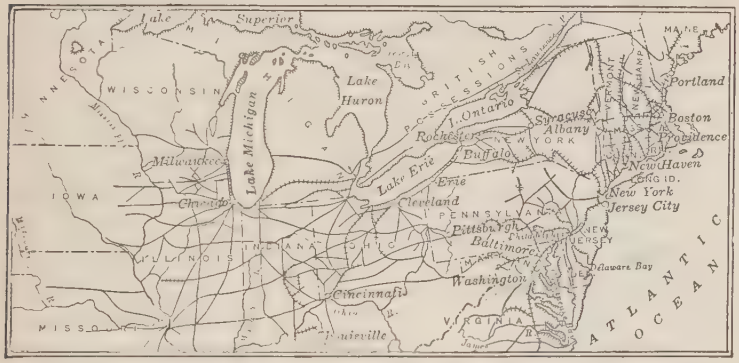
The Domain. — In 1850 the territory of the United States stretched westward from the Mississippi River across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Most of the region was unoccupied except by roving tribes of Indians. Iowa had been a state only four years; Wisconsin only two. Minnesota had become a territory the year before. Where were men and women to be found to carry the line of settlement across this vast domain? The newer states apparently needed all their people for their own unfinished tasks. If men and women could be found, how were they to reach places so distant? The immigrant and the railroad were the answers to these questions.

Railroads. — At the time California was obtained, only a few short railroad lines existed in the Mississippi Valley. None had yet crossed the great Alleghany ranges from the East. Finally, in 1853, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad reached Wheeling, and the next year the Pennsylvania Railroad was completed to Pittsburgh. Already, in 1852, two railroads entered Chicago: the Michigan Central from Detroit and the Michigan Southern from Toledo. By 1855 travelers could go by rail from New York to St. Louis. During the ten years from 1850 to 1860 the number of miles of railway was tripled. If all the railroads had been put end to end they would have circled the earth, with 5,000 miles to spare.

The early railroads were usually built with the aim of connecting the great waterways. This had been the purpose of the canals, but they were closed by ice several months each year. The Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio railroads were intended to connect Philadelphia and Baltimore,

the eastern rivals of New York, with the rivers of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. The Michigan roads cut off the long route by the Straits of Mackinac from the lower lakes to Chicago.

The railroads soon ceased to be mere connecting links. They were built even on the banks of the Hudson River and along the shore of Lake Erie, challenging the steamboat in the race for trade. As a result new routes of trade sprang up, independent of lake and river and sea-coast. The route on the Mississippi River to the Gulf lost some of its importance,



RAILROADS IN OPERATION IN THE NORTHERN STATES IN 1860

and the relations between the West and the East became closer than those between the West and the South. Settlement, too, moved along these east and west lines. The railroads thus became an important geographical feature added by man to the natural features of river, lake, and mountain.

The growth of towns was affected by such changes. The future of a city was doubly assured if it was served by both water route and railroad. This was especially true of cities on the Great Lakes — a water route unrivaled in the world. After the St. Mary's ship-canal locks were completed, steamboats could go from the western end of Lake Superior to the eastern shore of Lake Erie. They carried the iron

ores of the Lake Superior region to Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo. To these cities the railroad brought the coal of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. The consequence was that they began manufacturing iron and steel. Chicago, so near the southern end of Lake Michigan, had a further advantage. It was the western end of almost all the railroads from the East, and the starting-point of those to the newer West. As early as 1850 a railroad ran west from Chicago as far as Elgin. As the railroad decreased the importance of waterways, Cincinnati and New Orleans lost part of their supremacy in the trade of the Mississippi Valley.

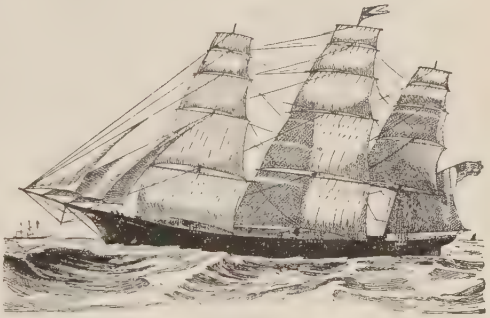
Samuel F. B. Morse

The Telegraph. — While the railroad was binding the country together in many directions, a network of telegraph wires was adding to the means of communication. The telegraph assisted the employees of railroads in managing trains, but it was equally important in enabling the business man to send orders or obtain information from distant places in a few minutes.

The inventor of the telegraph was Samuel F. B. Morse, a professor in New York University. He thought out a plan for sending messages over a wire, and made a rough instrument which did what he expected. As he could get no one to help him build a telegraph line, he appealed to Congress for aid. For several years Congress refused to grant money, but finally gave him $30,000 with which to build an experimental line between Washington and Baltimore. This was completed in 1844, in time to carry to Washington the news of the nomination of James K. Polk to the Presidency within fifteen minutes after the Democratic convention at Baltimore had reached its decision. Morse's triumph convinced doubting business men. Private companies built lines. In

1848 Ezra Cornell completed a line from New York to Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee.

A Revolution in the Post-Office. — A change in the charges made by the post-office for carrying letters was almost as important as the invention of the telegraph. The rates had been so high that ordinary persons could not afford to write often to friends or business associates living at a distance. A single sheet cost six cents for 30 miles, ten cents between 30 and 80 miles, and so on, until the cost rose to 25 cents for all distances over 400 miles. In 1851 Congress fixed the rate at three cents within the country.[1] The rates for newspapers remained high.



An American Clipper

Steamships. — While the railroad was providing for travel from the Atlantic seaboard to the interior, the steamboat was making it easier to reach America. Sailing ships also made the trip more quickly than in earlier days. The Americans had learned to build a ship called the "clipper," which could make three voyages between Europe and America while a British ship was making two. These ships by their superiority were pushing the English hard in the race for ocean trade. They were particularly successful in the long voyages required in the trade with China. Sometimes these splendid vessels raced from Chinese ports to New York, eager to land the first cargoes of the new crop of tea. But the creation of the iron steamship meant their ruin sooner or later.

In England timber was scarce, but iron and coal were cheap. About a quarter of the ships which the English built

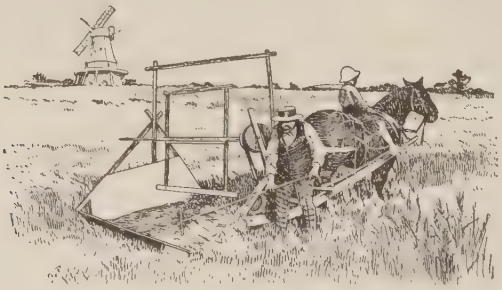
[1] In 1883 the rate of postage on letters was reduced to two cents.

in 1853 were of iron. Fifteen years before this a British line of steamships began regular trips between England and the United States. Excellent though the clippers were, they could not compete with the steamship. The first

The Old Way of Reaping

ocean steamships often required fifteen days for the voyage, but by 1847 they had lowered the time to eleven days.

New Tools for the Farm. — The farmer's task in making the land productive was rendered easier by the invention of new machinery. The sickle and scythe began to give place to the mowing-machine and the harvester, and the flail to



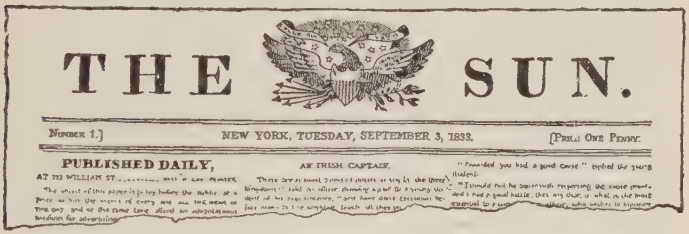
The First Type of McCormick Reaper

the threshing machine. Horserakes, cultivators, and corn planters appeared. The invention of harvesting machinery was chiefly the work of Cyrus McCormick of Virginia. His father had tried for years to make a successful machine for cutting grain, and young McCormick took up the problem where his father left it. He soon constructed a reaper which

was fairly successful. After it had been improved it was able to do the work of twenty men, not only cutting the grain, but also binding it and laying it in windrows.

The threshing machine was equally successful. In 1855 at the World's Fair in Paris, six threshers with flails were set at work beside one of the American machines. In half an hour the machine threshed ten times as much wheat as the men. Such farm machinery increased the demand for western land. Thus the line of settlement moved westward faster than ever.

Tools for Other Work. — The settlement of the country was helped by the invention of other tools which were not



THE SUN.

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1833. [PRICE ONE PENNY.

PUBLISHED DAILY,

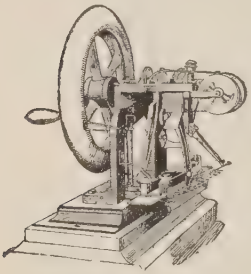
AN IRISH CAPTAIN.

THE FIRST COPY OF "THE SUN" — A PENNY NEWSPAPER

connected directly with farm work. The steam hammer made the tasks of the iron worker easier. The planing machine aided the carpenter. The rotary or cylindrical press helped the printer. Some newspapers ventured to reduce the price from 6 cents a paper to a cent, and declared that they would bring all the news of the day within the means of everybody.[1] The steam-engine supplied them with power, and the telegraph brought in fresh news, and so increased their usefulness as teachers of the people. The newspapers, in turn, made profitable work for the telegraph, and hastened its extension throughout the country.

[1] The New York Daily *Sun*, 1833, was the first penny newspaper. Two years later, James Gordon Bennett started another, the New York *Herald*. Horace Greeley, in 1841, founded the New York *Tribune;* ten years later Henry J. Raymond established the New York *Times*. The price of these was later increased to two cents.

The sewing machine, one of the most useful of the newer inventions, was completed by Elias Howe in 1846. He had planned it several years earlier, but was too poor to pay the cost of construction. His first machine in a sewing race distanced five of the swiftest hand sewers. It earned him a fortune and lightened the burdens of women. The principle of the sewing machine was soon used in constructing machines for sewing leather and making shoes. Machines were also invented which cut and sewed button-holes.



Howe's Sewing Machine

Other inventions, cook stoves, base-burners, and furnaces made the home more comfortable and the work of the housewife easier. Americans borrowed from Europe the invention of the match. In a multitude of ways the needs of life were met by the ingenuity of thoughtful men and women. Over 23,000 different articles were patented between 1850 and 1860.

Why the Immigrants came. — The ways of living in Europe and Great Britain were changed as rapidly as in the United States. Indeed, in England the factory system developed much faster. Railroads were multiplied. Life for the well-to-do became more comfortable, but for the common man and his family the lands of opportunity lay beyond the seas. They were not the United States merely, but also Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The United States proved far more attractive to the European emigrant than all the other countries together.

Between 1845 and 1850 several events swelled the stream of emigration. In 1845 and 1846 the failures of crops caused much distress in Great Britain and Europe. The potato crop, the principal article of food of the Irish peasantry, was a total failure. All that private charity and government help could do was not enough to prevent terrible suffering. Nearly a million persons perished from starvation or fever.

The government repealed the "corn" laws which taxed grain, but this remedy came too late. Thousands sailed for America. A quarter of the population of Ireland was lost from famine, fever, and emigration.

In 1848 Germany was again in the midst of a revolution. The more progressive leaders, weary of the system which gave power to the rulers and to a clique of nobles, attempted first to found a new German empire and then a republic.

Broadway, New York City, as it Appeared at This Time

They were defeated by the aristocratic party and many of them fled to the United States. Others came to better their lot. Between 1846 and 1856 a million Germans entered the country. Some, like Carl Schurz, soon became leaders in its political struggles.

It was not strange that the new "pilgrims" turned their faces toward America, which offered them cheap lands, light taxes, work for all, and equality with their neighbors. The Irish commonly remained in the towns and cities of the coast states. The Germans went to the frontier — Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Texas, — wherever good land was to be had.

Immigration from the Older States. — The older northern states also contributed their share of settlers to the new West. Families were still large, and the sons and daughters

accepted the common advice of the time, "Go West, young man!" A constant stream of young people from the states farther east mingled with the strangers from Europe in making the new settlements amid the prairies and forests of the Mississippi Valley. Children of Scotch-Irish, German, and English descent from Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England were in the migration. It sometimes seemed that whole villages of New England were going to empty themselves into the more fertile farm lands of the West. The names of the towns often suggested the eastern homes of their founders. Springfield, Quincy, and Pittsfield in Illinois showed the tracks of the sons of Massachusetts in the westward movement. Congregational

Plowing a Southern Cotton Field

churches sprang up wherever the New Englanders went. Even the New England town meeting once a year to choose officers and discuss own business was transplanted into Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

To "Go West" was easier than it had been before the days of canals, steamboats and railways. Unless the immigrant from the older states or from Europe wished to seek lands far beyond the Mississippi, he was no longer obliged to travel for weeks on horseback or in a heavy wagon over rough roads and mountain trails. Of course, the railroad cars were not as comfortable as they are now. Many of the immigrants did not plan to become farmers, and stopped in the older towns along the way. Like the earlier settlers they were eager to make these cities rivals of the cities on the coast founded in colonial days. Their success is shown by the rapid increase

in the size of Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Louis between 1840 and 1860. Chicago, for example, in 1840 numbered 4,470 people. In 1860 its population was 112,172.

Share of the South in the New Activities. — The southern states had almost no share in the new activities which busied the North and West. European immigrants seldom settled there. Factories were rarely established south of Maryland. The slaves were too ignorant, clumsy, and wasteful to use machinery or engage in the higher kinds of farming.

Picking Cotton

But there was another reason why few industries were established in the South. The increase in the demand for cotton, especially in England and in New England, convinced the southerners that their greatest profits would be found in cotton growing. The production increased from 1,976,000 bales in 1840 to 4,675,000 twenty years later. As the price during the same time had increased, the gains of the planters were large. Like the sugar planters in the West Indies in the eighteenth century, they could not afford to build their machinery or weave their cloth or even raise their food. Everything of that kind they purchased in Great Britain, in Europe, or in the northern states. They bought, for

example, $5,000,000 worth of shoes a year in Massachusetts. The cottons which they required to clothe their slaves were obtained either in New England or old England. For this reason others besides the southerners were interested in the production of cotton. Others also feared any change in the system of labor which might endanger a profitable trade. No wonder the southerners said that "Cotton is king."

Slavery in the Border States. — It would be a mistake to suppose that slavery existed on every farm in the South. Only about one family in five owned any slaves. The others supported themselves and their families by their own labor. Most of the slaves were in South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf states. Outside of the cotton belt, the greater part of the work was done by free laborers. The plantation system of using slave labor was profitable to the owners only so long as fertile land was cheap and plentiful. Wherever that gave out, slavery slowly broke down. Each year saw the abandonment of old cotton fields in the eastern states of the South and the establishment of new plantations in the Gulf states. This could not go on forever.

Before the Revolution slavery was common in all colonies, North and South. It slowly declined in the North and disappeared. The change was brought about mainly because slaves had ceased to be profitable. Since 1783 it had also been slowly declining in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. In that year negro slaves formed about one-half the population of Virginia; in 1860 not more than one-third. In Maryland free negroes did about one-half of all the work.

The question of labor troubled the planters greatly. All their money was invested in land and slaves. A good field hand cost from $1,500 to $1,800. The planters knew that the slaves were poor laborers. Many would have given up their slaves gladly if they could have found free laborers upon whom they could depend, but they did not believe that the slaves would work if freed. The abolition of slavery, they thought, meant the ruin of the South.

Questions

1. What unoccupied territory did the United States possess in 1850?

2. What railroads joined the East with the Mississippi Valley between 1850 and 1860? What was the aim of the builders of the first railroads? Of the later ones? How did the railroads affect the routes of trade? The relations of East and West, North and South?

3. How did the railroads affect the growth of cities? Why did Chicago become a great city? Buffalo, Cleveland, and Detroit?

4. What was the effect of the telegraph lines? Who invented the telegraph? How did he prove its usefulness?

5. Why was the change in postal rates important?

6. What were the "clipper" ships doing? Why did England build iron steamships instead of wooden "clippers"?

7. What farm machinery was invented? What effect had each on farm work? What tools were invented for other work? How did each affect the work of the shop or the home?

8. How were the ways of living changing in Europe? Why did immigrants come in increasing numbers? Did they leave Europe for any other countries besides the United States?

9. Why did the Irish migrate to America in such numbers? Why did the Germans? What did each do in America? Who settled in the new western territories? What routes did they follow in their journey?

10. Why did the South fail to share in the new activities? Why did the southern people confine themselves so fully to cotton growing? Did anybody else profit from slave labor in cotton growing?

11. Did the majority of the southern people own slaves? Where had slavery already ceased entirely? Where had it partially broken down? If the slaves were such poor laborers why were the southern people unwilling to free them?

Exercises

1. What states had been formed west of the Mississippi besides those mentioned in the chapter?

2. What was the length of time needed to cross the ocean in colonial days? After the beginning of regular steamship lines?

Important Dates:

1844. Morse builds the first telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore.

1846. Elias Howe invents the sewing machine.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY

Slavery and the New Southwest. — The question of slavery was not a new political issue. It had been discussed when the Ordinance of 1787 was being prepared. It was brought up again after the purchase of Louisiana, and an arrangement concerning that territory was embodied in the Missouri Compromise. With the acquisition of New Mexico and California, and with the increasing flood of immigrants in the West, it excited men's minds as never before.

Planters knew that the time would come when the old cotton lands would be worn out, and new lands would become necessary or the investment in slaves would be worthless. In 1849 the people of California voted to exclude slavery, but the southern leaders thought that a bargain might be made by which California should be divided into two states, and slavery permitted in southern California. They had already given way as to Oregon, and Congress had prohibited the holding of slaves within its limits, but they had no idea of yielding in regard to the Southwest. Delegates from several southern states met at Nashville in order to express a united opposition to any plan of closing California or New Mexico to slavery. Some leaders talked freely of their intention to break up the Union rather than permit such a law.

Fugitive Slaves. — Nor was this the only difference between the states with slaves and those without. By the laws of the United States, if a slave ran away, his master could pursue him even into another state. It was the duty of United States officers to help the owner recapture his property. The law was an old one, having been made in 1793 when Washington was President. Slaves, especially in border states like Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri,

frequently ran away. Their masters found it difficult to capture the fugitives because many people in the free states were ready to help them escape. The slave-holders accordingly demanded a more severe law by which those who aided fugitive slaves might be punished.

Northern Opponents of Slavery. — The northern abolitionists demanded that the system of slavery should be destroyed root and branch. William Lloyd Garrison was still the leader, and in twenty years of untiring agitation he had won a loyal, though not a very numerous, following. The

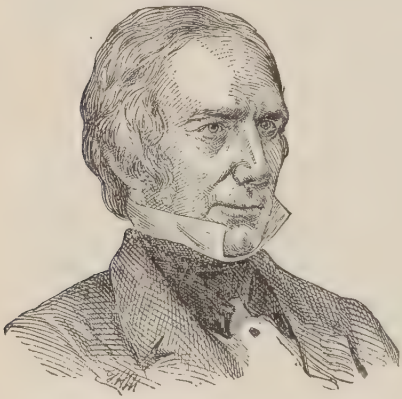
THE OLD INDIAN CHURCH, PUEBLO OF SAN FELIPE, NEAR ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

It was this country that some Congressman wanted to open to slavery, and others wanted to close. The matter was settled by the Compromise of 1850

majority of the northern people were opposed to interference with slavery in the states. Workmen feared that if the negroes were freed, they would migrate to the northern states in such numbers as to reduce their wages. Business men were afraid that Garrison's plan would ruin the South and so shut off the supply of cheap cotton and destroy the market for northern goods. But many northern people, who would not go so far as the abolitionists, were anxious to stop the spread of slavery into the new territories.

Those who wished to prevent the spread of slavery were called "Free-soilers." Many of them broke away from the

old political parties, and in the election of 1848 voted to make Van Buren President. Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate, proposed to leave the slavery question to the people of the territories. As they were often called squatters, this was called the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty." The Whigs took no stand on the slavery question, and nominated for President General Taylor, the "hero of Buena Vista." Taylor was elected, but the question was not forgotten.



HENRY CLAY

The Compromise of 1850. — In 1850 the moderate leaders of the old parties united to bring about a settlement. Henry Clay, now a very old man, acted as their spokesman, and proposed a compromise. It was the third great compromise that he had lived to propose when the Union was in danger. For nearly a year Congress discussed the parts of Clay's plan. The ablest orators of America spoke. Calhoun, wasted with old age and so feeble that he could not stand, sat while another read his speech. A few days afterward the famous champion of the South died. Clay and Webster appealed to men of the North and South to lay aside their differences in order to save the Union.

The Compromise of 1850 was an attempt to satisfy both sides. (1) By forbiding the buying and selling of slaves in the District of Columbia, Clay hoped to please those in the North who wished to abolish slavery there. (2) By a new fugitive slave law, he hoped to pacify southern slave-holders. (3) By admitting California without slavery, he believed the North would be pleased. (4) By the provision that Congress should not interfere regarding slavery in Utah and

New Mexico,[1] but should leave the inhabitants free to decide between free and slave labor, he wished to end the dispute about the new territory.[2] This last provision meant that slave-holders could take their slaves into the Southwest and have a share in deciding the question whether slavery should be permitted or abolished. The statesmen who arranged the Compromise imagined that every great difference had been laid to rest. Within a few months the old leaders, Clay and Webster, died. If the Compromise failed, new men and new measures must save the Union.

OVERLAND TO THE PACIFIC.

The San Antonio and San Diego Mail-Line.

THIS Line, which has been in successful operation since July, 1857, is ticketing PASSENGERS through to San Diego and San Francisco, and also to all intermediate stations. Passengers and Express matter forwarded in NEW COACHES, drawn by six mules, over the entire length of our Line, excepting the Colorado Desert of one hundred miles, which we cross on mule-back. Passengers GUARANTEED in their tickets to ride in Coaches, excepting the one hundred miles above stated.

Passengers ticketed through, from NEW-ORLEANS, to the following points, via SAN ANTONIO:

To Fort Clark,.....Fare, $52.		To Fort Bliss,.....Fare, $100.	
" Hudson,.....	" 60.	" La Mesilla,.....	" 105.
" Port Lancaster,	" 70.	" Fort Fillmore,.....	" 105.
" Davis,.....	" 90.	" Tucson,.....	" 135.
" Quitman,.....	" 100.	" Fort Yuma,.....	" 162.
" Birchville,.....	" 100.	" San Diego,.....	" 190.
" San Elizario,...	" 100.	" Los Angelos,.....	" 190.
" El Paso,.....	" 100.	" San Francisco,.....	" 200.

The Coaches of our Line leave semi-monthly from each end, on the 9th and 24th of each month, at 6 o'clock A.M.

An armed escort travels through the Indian country with each mail train, for the protection of the mails and passengers.

Passengers are provided with provisions during the trip, except where the Coach stops at Public Houses along the Line, at which each Passenger will pay for his own meal.

Each Passenger is allowed thirty pounds of personal baggage, exclusive of blankets and arms.

Passengers coming to San Antonio can take the line of mail-steamers from New-Orleans five times a week to Indianola. From the latter place there is a daily line of four-horse mail-coaches direct to this place.

On the Pacific side, the California Steam Navigation Company are running a first-class steamer, semi-monthly, to and from San Francisco and San Diego.

Extra Baggage, *when carried*, 40 cents per pound to El Paso, and $1 per pound to San Diego.

Passengers can obtain all necessary outfits in San Antonio.

For further information, and for the purchase of tickets, apply at the office of C. O. WAYNE, 61 Camp Street, New-Orleans, or at the Company's Office, in San Antonio.

G. H. GIDDINGS, } Proprietors.
R. E. DOYLE. }

MODE OF TRAVEL TO THE NEW TERRITORY

Reduced facsimile of an advertisement of the Overland Stage

The new men had already made themselves heard. In the anti-slavery party they were William H. Seward of New York, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. On the pro-slavery side stood Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. Seward had opposed the Compromise and in the course of the debate

[1] These included Nevada and Arizona.

[2] Texas was satisfied for a loss of territory given to New Mexico by a grant of $10,000,000.

had appealed to a "higher law" than the Constitution, a law of liberty and justice. Had Taylor lived, perhaps the Compromise would not have been adopted, for Seward had great influence over him.[1]

The Failure of the Compromise. — The quiet which followed the Compromise was soon ended. The extremists on neither side were satisfied. The southerners believed that they had lost ground by the admission of California as a free state and by the prohibition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. The advantages that the Compromise offered in return proved to be worthless. Slavery could never pay in Utah and New Mexico. Physical geography had, as Webster said, forever settled the question. Negro slaves had neither the skill not the industry needed to make the deserts bear fruit. Nor was the new fugitive slave law of any great value.

The Underground Railroad. — The Compromise had also made the northern abolitionists angrier than ever. They denounced particularly the law for the recovery of fugitive slaves. When some one said that the northern people ought not to work against slavery because the laws of the United States protected it, James Russell Lowell, the poet, exclaimed, "To be told that we ought not to agitate the question of slavery, when it is that which is forever agitating us, is like telling a man with the fever and ague on him to stop shaking, and he will be cured."

Such people secretly aided negroes to escape in spite of the law and the danger of punishment. They hid them in their houses in the day time and at night helped them on their way north to another hiding place. Such places were called "stations" of the "underground railroad." In this way thousands of slaves escaped. A master who followed the fugitives too far into the North was in danger of injury from angry mobs. Some men made it a business to hunt slaves for others, and stories were told of how they tried to use

[1] President Taylor died in 1850 and was succeeded by the Vice-President, Millard Fillmore.

the new law to carry back into slavery negroes who were rightfully free.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin." — In 1852 Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote a story of the life of a slave. Some things that she said were true; many were not true. She failed to show that there were different kinds of negro slaves, and how most of those in the cotton states were only half-civilized and quite unlike the fairly well-trained house-servants of the border states. Her story was interesting and described some abuses that doubtless did occur under bad masters. Multitudes of men, women, and children in the North read the book and believed that all slavery was like that which she described, and that all southern white people were like her cruel masters, slave-drivers, and slave-traders. Such stories aroused against slavery multitudes whom Garrison had failed to reach.

Stories were told at the South of how the abolitionists distributed pamphlets or sent agents into the southern states to induce the slaves to run away. The conviction that they had been cheated in every compromise steadily gained ground among the southerners. Men said that it had been so in 1820 and it was so again now. Every attempt to treat with the North, they asserted, would have a similar result. Instead of the peace which Clay, Webster, and Calhoun had hoped for, deeper hatred spread over the land.

Kansas and Nebraska Bill. — The situation was made worse by the rule which Congress adopted in opening for settlement the Indian country west of Missouri and Iowa. The southern leaders were anxious to add new slave territory.[1] Some of them hoped to obtain Cuba from Spain by purchase, or even to take it by force. Douglas desired to satisfy them in order that he might gain their support as Democratic can-

[1] Iowa had been admitted without slaves in 1846. The admission of Arkansas in 1836 and Michigan in 1837, and of Florida, Texas, Iowa and Wisconsin in close succession during 1845, 1846, and 1848, had kept the number of states with slaves and without them equal. The admission of California put the free states ahead.

didate in the next presidential election. Accordingly, when Congress divided the upper part of the old Louisiana Purchase into Kansas and Nebraska territories, Douglas proposed that the inhabitants should decide at some future time whether they would permit slavery or not. This was the rule which had been applied to Utah and New Mexico.

The bill meant that the new territories were opened to slavery if its supporters could occupy them. This broke the agreement made by the Missouri Compromise that slavery should not be permitted in the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri. It was the turn of the anti-slavery men to feel that they were wronged. Furthermore, the law soon led to a struggle for Kansas, the forerunner of a greater war.

TERRITORIES FROM WHICH KANSAS AND NEBRASKA WERE ERECTED

War in Kansas, 1854–1857. — Free-soilers and slave-holders were stirred to action by the offer of Kansas to the swiftest and strongest party. Settlers poured in from North and South. They were colonists sent with the strange mission of battling with their neighbors for possession of a fair territory.[1] Covered wagons which had started for California gold-fields with "California or bust" painted on the sides put on "Kansas" instead. Adventurers and frontiersmen,

[1] The new territories included the great region which now makes up the states of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, part of Colorado, and Wyoming.

eager for excitement, joined in the fray. Many Missourians crossed the boundary, some to settle with their slaves, others merely to help their party win the victory. These men the anti-slavery people called "border ruffians." The most determined leader of the anti-slavery settlers was John Brown, who with four sons, all well armed, fought against the colonists from the southern states. It was a war of ambushes and assaults on settlements. The Missourians succeeded in

SCENE ON THE KANSAS BORDER

Note the ferry-boat propelled by poles, the stern-wheeled steamboat, and the wagons.

founding Atchison and Leavenworth, near the Missouri River, while the Free-soilers took up the lands farther back, around Lawrence and Topeka.

The Free-soilers soon outnumbered their opponents. The North had the advantage not only in the number ready to emigrate to Kansas, but also in money to aid them, and in railroads to carry them to the battleground. The consequence was that the Free-soilers eventually succeeded in organizing a government without slavery. Besides the Kansas and Nebraska Act had further widened the breach between the North and the South.

Rise of a New Political Party, 1854–1860. — The Kansas and Nebraska Act led also to the formation of a new political party. The organization, under the name "Republi-

can," started in the northwestern states during the summer of 1854, and spread rapidly over the entire North. The people of the Northwest had long regarded the lands on the Kansas, the Platte, and the Missouri rivers as destined for free farmers like themselves. They resented a measure which upset their plans. Besides, Douglas was interfering with another plan. The workingmen of the East had recently made a new demand. This was that the government should give every man in the United States who had no land and desired some a free homestead of 160 acres of western land. They expected that their plan would draw many laborers from the crowded cities and make wages higher for those left behind. Those who took up free lands would buy goods, tools, and machinery, and make times better in factories and mills and mines. This part of the plan pleased the merchants and manufacturers of the East and won their support.

End of the Whig Party. — The new party grew faster because the voters in the old parties, especially the Whigs, had come to believe that their leaders were more interested in securing offices for themselves than in settling the serious problems of the nation. The Whig leaders kept saying that the question of slavery had been settled by the Compromise of 1850. Multitudes of the members of the party thought differently and joined the Republicans. The Whig party melted away, much as the old Federalist party had disappeared. The Democratic party lost many, especially of the workingmen, for the same reason.

The Dred Scott Affair. — In 1857 an event took place which stirred the Republicans fully as much as the Kansas and Nebraska Act. A negro, Dred Scott, his wife, and two daughters, claimed their freedom because their master had once taken them North into territory where slavery was unlawful. The Supreme Court of the United States promptly decided that according to the law they were still slaves; that settled the matter as far as these negroes were concerned. The Chief-Justice, Roger B. Taney, and several justices,

went further, thinking that the question of slavery could be settled if the Supreme Court expressed an opinion upon it. Accordingly, the majority of the court announced that the Missouri Compromise had been void from the first, because Congress had no power to forbid slavery in any territory. The decision meant that not even the inhabitants of a territory could do this, since slaves were property and permitted a man to carry his property into the territories; that even if the Republicans could repeal the Kansas and Nebraska Act, they would be powerless to prevent the spread of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. The Republican leaders thought Taney's decision was bad law. Instead of settling the question of slavery once for all, Taney, like Douglas, had made the matter worse.

Abraham Lincoln. — Abraham Lincoln had been practicing law in Illinois, riding the circuit of the scattered frontier courts as was the custom of the day, and voting the Whig ticket. He had been a member of Congress from 1847 to 1849. He had been losing interest in politics, but the Kansas and Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott opinion aroused him.

In 1858 an Illinois Republican convention nominated him for the Senate against Douglas, who was still the great Democratic leader. In his speech accepting the nomination Lincoln declared courageously, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." He plainly showed that he wished to stop the progress of slavery in the territories, and even hinted that he expected that the opponents of slavery would finally destroy it.

Lincoln challenged Douglas to debate the question before the citizens of Illinois. The two men presented a striking contrast. Douglas was considered a great orator and a shrewd debater. As he was short he was commonly called the "Little Giant." Lincoln was tall and awkward, but he

already had the reputation of uttering sayings as wise as those of "Poor Richard." His way of reasoning was perfectly clear and straightforward. Before the debates were ended he had compelled Douglas to explain that though Congress, according to the Dred Scott decision, might not forbid slavery in the territories, the people of the territories could make slave-holding impossible by passing laws hostile to it. This statement made the southerners angry at Douglas. Lincoln lost the election, but he had won a hearing before the whole country and was regarded as one of the leaders of the Republican party.

James Buchanan

The young party grew rapidly. In 1856 a majority of the northern states voted for the Republican candidate for President, but the Democrats in the North and the South elected their candidate, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. After the Dred Scott affair, the Republicans won other northern states, until by 1859 they had more members than the Democrats in the House of Representatives.

John Brown's Raid, 1859. — The southern people were alarmed by the growth of a northern political party. They knew that the Republican leaders said that their chief object was to abolish slavery in the territories, but no southerner believed that the Republicans would be satisfied to stop there. The abolitionists among them were resolved to destroy the system everywhere. Who could tell when they would control the whole party?

An event in the fall of 1859 seemed to give good ground for more serious alarm. One quiet night in October, John Brown, with 18 followers fully armed, seized the little Virginia village of Harper's Ferry with its United States gun

factory and store of arms. It was the first act in a strange plan. Brown intended to arouse the slaves in Virginia, put arms in their hands, and by their aid provide a mountain stronghold for all slaves. There would be a great war against slavery carried into the heart of the South, and waged mainly by the negroes themselves. The abolitionists were too mild for him. "Those men," he said, "are all talk; what is needed is action — action!" He seems to have thought that northern people would aid him with money and arms in a race war in the southern mountains, as they had in Kansas.

HARPER'S FERRY IN 1859

Nothing turned out as he hoped. The slaves in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry did not rise. His men raided several plantations and told the slaves that they were free, but the negroes refused to fight. Within a few hours Brown was captured at Harper's Ferry by a military force under command of Colonel Robert E. Lee of the Regular Army. Brown and several of his men were tried and hanged for murder and treason. Such was the tragic ending of a plan over which Brown had brooded for twenty years, until he believed that God had called him to free the slaves.

The people of the South were horror-stricken at Brown's raid. He had attempted to bring about what they had always most dreaded — an armed uprising of the slaves. They could not tell how many northern people supported the plan. They heard that some abolitionists rejoiced in Brown's deed and proclaimed him a martyr. Those at the South who disliked the slave system, and there were many such, as well as those who approved it, denounced the North. It was impossible to convince them that Brown's deed was his own, and

that the great majority of the northern people thought it wrong. Each one who had tried to settle the slavery question, Clay, Douglas, Taney, and Brown, only made the matter worse.

Questions

1 What important political question divided the people of the United States in 1848? What step did California take? What did southern leaders want to do before admitting California into the Union? What had Congress done in the case of Oregon?

2. What other questions divided the states with slaves and those without? What change in the fugitive slave law did the slave-holders want?

3. What did the abolitionists seek to do? Why did the majority of northern people oppose the plan of the abolitionists? What were many northern people anxious to do regarding slavery? What name was given to this party? What position did the two great political parties take on the subject in the election of 1848?

4. What leaders supported Clay's Compromise? How did Clay try to satisfy both sides? What method did he use to end the dispute about slavery in the new territory?

5. What new leaders took the places of the older men? Why were the southerners soon dissatisfied with the Compromise? How did the northern abolitionists help fugitive slaves? What effect did their methods have on the South?

6. Describe Mrs. Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* What influence did it have? What did the South believe about the abolitionists? What did it think about compromises with the North?

7 What rule did Douglas propose for the Kansas and Nebraska territories? Why did he make this proposal? Where else had it been adopted? What effect did it have on the Missouri Compromise? Whom did it displease?

8. Why did Douglas's Kansas and Nebraska Act bring on a war in Kansas? Who were the fighters? Why did the Free-soilers win? What effect had the Kansas and Nebraska Act on the difference between the North and the South?

9. What new political party was formed in the North? Why did the people of the northwestern states favor it? The workingmen of the East? The merchants and manufacturers? Why did the Whig party lose its followers?

10. What did the Supreme Court say in the Dred Scott decision regarding the power of Congress? Why did the Republicans think it bad law?

11. Whom did the Dred Scott decision arouse? What did he say regarding slavery in his debates with the "Little Giant"? What did Douglas say which made the southern Democrats angry with him?

12. How did John Brown try to end slavery? What did the southern people think of the raid? Whom did they blame?

Exercises

1. Review Clay's three great compromises proposed to save the Union. See pages 276, 292, 338.

2. Review the story of the Federalist party.

3 Prepare a summary of this chapter under the headings which follow:

(*a*) 1850. Clay's attempt to settle the slave question.

(*b*) 1854. The attempt of Douglas to end the difference over slavery in the territories.

(*c*) 1857. The attempt of Roger B. Taney and the majority of the Supreme Court to settle the difference over slavery in the territories.

(*d*) 1859. The attempt of John Brown to destroy the entire slave system.

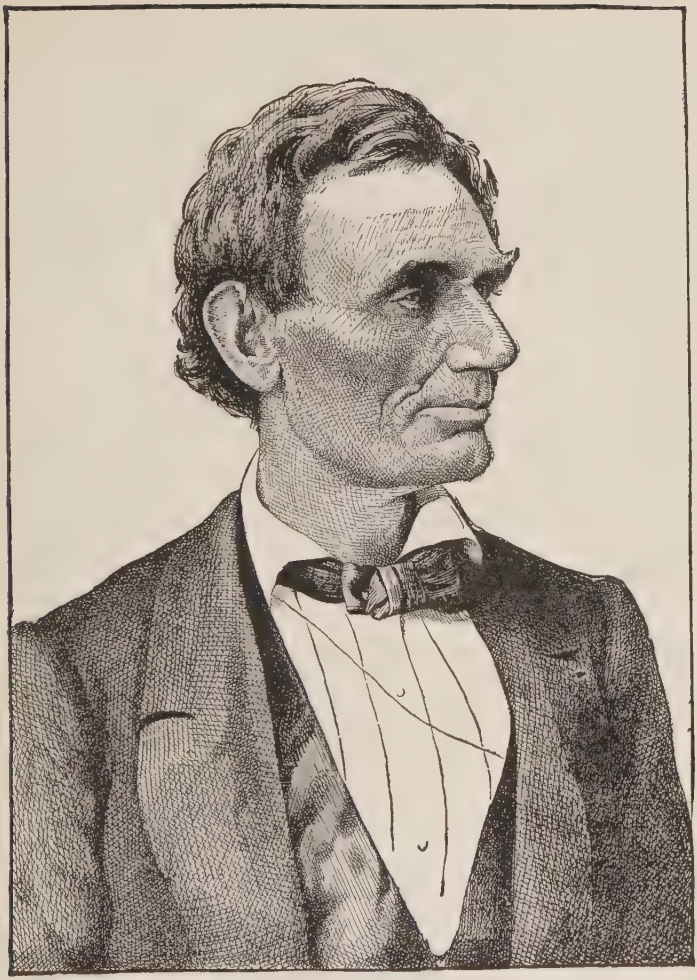
CHAPTER XXXII

A DIVIDED NATION

Election of Lincoln. — The election of 1860 was intensely exciting. Southern leaders, like Senator Jefferson Davis, thought that the choice of a Republican President would bring ruin upon the South. They were prepared to break up the Union unless the government would support the Dred Scott decision, that is, protect slave property in the territories, whether the inhabitants of them wished it or not. When the Democratic convention met in April, they attempted to force the delegates to embody such a demand in the party platform or program. A majority of the delegates were Douglas men and refused. Thereupon the delegates of the cotton states withdrew. The others, meeting later in the year, nominated Stephen A. Douglas as President, while the "bolters" nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, who at the time was Vice-President.

The split in the Democratic party led to the success of the Republican party, the very thing that the southern leaders declared would be ruinous. The Republican convention met in Chicago in May. Seward seemed at first to be the favorite candidate, but on the third ballot Abraham Lincoln was nominated as President. Earlier in the year Lincoln had strengthened his reputation by a speech in New York, in the course of which he denied that the party was in any way responsible for the John Brown raid. He showed that while the Republicans were pledged to resist the spread of slavery into the territories, they did not intend to interfere with it in the southern states. Lincoln was commonly considered as more cautious than Seward, and he was counted upon to carry Illinois and one or two other doubtful states.

In the election Lincoln carried all the northern states ex-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From a photograph taken in 1860

cept New Jersey, whose electoral vote was divided between Lincoln and Douglas. Lincoln's electoral vote was 180, while his opponents received 123. Douglas and Breckenridge together received a much larger popular vote. It was clear, therefore, that the Democrats would have won if the delegates of the cotton states had not insisted upon their program.

South Carolina's Declaration of Independence. — Immediately after the election South Carolina decided to withdraw from the Union. The legislature called a convention which, on December 20, repealed the ratification of the Constitution passed in 1788, and declared the state a "free and independent nation." As the leaders of the cotton states had agreed to stand together, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas soon followed the example of South Carolina.

CHARLESTON IN WAR TIME
"Through streets still echoing with trade."

A New Republic, 1861. — In February, 1861, a convention of delegates held at Montgomery, Alabama, took the necessary steps to form a new republic, calling it the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was chosen President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia Vice-President. The constitution of the Confederate States repeated the old Constitution almost word for word. The southern leaders were convinced that the old Constitution, if properly enforced, would make their property in slaves as safe as any other kind of property. In the new constitution, however, they took pains to make this so clear that there could be no dispute.

The Southern People and the Old Union. — Most of the southern people wished to remain in the Union under which

DOMINION OF CANADA
WASHINGTON TERRITORY
OREGON TERRITORY
DAKOTA TERRITORY
MINNESOTA
NEBRASKA TER.
IOWA
NEVADA TER.
UTAH TER.
COLORADO TERRITORY
KANSAS
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
MISSOURI
INDIAN TERRITORY
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
ARKANSAS
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
SECEDING STATES
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
Gulf of California
BAHAMA ISLANDS
MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
1861
The heavy black line shows the greatest extent of territory held by the Confederates.
Longitude West 97 from Greenwich
127
117
107
97
87
77
67
45
35
25
C. J. PETERS & SON ENGR., BOSTON

they and their fellow-Americans had grown to be a great nation. The stories of heroic deeds, of Bunker Hill and Yorktown, of leaders like Washington and Jackson, of the pioneers who had carried the flag from territory to territory, were possessions of both North and South. For thirty years John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis had worked as earnestly as Henry Clay and Daniel Webster to find a way to preserve the Union. But such men as Davis now believed separation better.

Jefferson Davis

What would Buchanan do? — Buchanan's term as President did not close until three months after South Carolina had seceded, and one month after the convention at Montgomery had begun the organization of the Confederate States. The leaders of the new republic were anxious about his attitude toward them. They remembered that when South Carolina prepared to resist a national law President Jackson took such vigorous steps to compel obedience that opposition was dangerous. Would Buchanan take similar measures?

They had not long to wait. In a message to Congress Buchanan said that a state had no right to withdraw from the Union, but neither the President nor Congress had any power to compel the cotton states to return to the Union against their will. Such words encouraged the leaders of the Confederate States. Southern senators, representatives, judges, and post-masters gave up their places under the United States government and took service under the new republic.

President Davis and his associates had no doubts about the justice of their cause. Few of them had any idea that separation would bring on war. South Carolina sent a com-

mission to Washington to arrange with the United States a division of the national debt and a settlement regarding the national property within the state.

Attempts to compromise again. — A compromise had saved the Union so many times that men thought the old method would serve again, but no plan was found upon which they could agree. Lincoln was consulted by the Republicans in Congress. He offered to support an amendment to the Constitution making it clear that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in any southern state. The southern Congressmen insisted that the provision be added that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the territories of the United States. To this point Lincoln would not agree. Since the Kansas and Nebraska Act, slavery in the territories was the one thing that the Republicans had determined should cease.

HORACE GREELEY

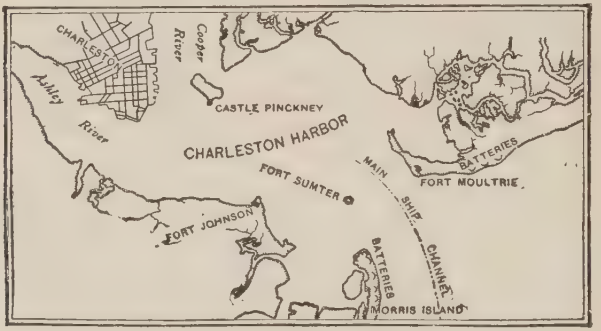
Would it be War or Peace? — The question in every man's mind throughout the winter of 1861 was whether the withdrawal of seven cotton states meant war or peaceable disunion. Some dreaded civil war more than dividing the country. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, one of the Republican leaders in the North, urged peaceable separation. "If the cotton states," he wrote, "shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace." No one knows how many agreed with him. Among those who shared this opinion were the Friends or Quakers. Such men loved the Union, but did not wish to shed blood to keep the South in it. They trusted that if treated generously the South

would return of its own free will. The Garrison abolitionists rejoiced over the withdrawal of the cotton states as the easiest way to purge the Union of slavery. It was commonly said that Senator Seward was working for a compromise by which the plan of keeping the territories wholly for free settlers should be given up. The majority of the Republicans looked upon the secession of the cotton states as treason, and the men who led it as traitors. A compromise on the question of the territories was no longer to be considered.

The northern people had gradually gained a strong national feeling, while the southerners were first of all loyal to their states. The immigrant had come to seek a home and an opportunity not in any particular state but in the United States. To him the separate states seemed simple subdivisions of the country. The multiplication of railroads, the close relations of trade, the settlement of the West by the children of eastern families, all combined to make Webster's cry, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," the watchword of the North. Lincoln expressed the same feeling by his declaration in his inaugural address that "the union of these states is perpetual." Would the northern people support such a view by war?

What shall be done with Fort Sumter? — The Confederate States had as yet met with no obstacles as an independent republic. Buchanan had finished his term and Lincoln had become President. The Confederate States had taken possession of national custom-houses, forts, and military supplies, worth together about $30,000,000, located within their limits. Fort Sumter, on an island in Charleston harbor, held out almost alone among the old forts. Its commander, Major Robert Anderson of Kentucky, had an officer's scruples against abandoning a post of duty. But he needed provisions and reënforcements. In January Buchanan had sent the *Star of the West*, with 200 men, arms, ammunition, and other supplies, but it was fired upon in Charleston harbor and compelled to return to New York.

What to do about Fort Sumter was Lincoln's first hard problem as President. He assured the North and the South that the government would not use force unless force was used against it. Jefferson Davis said to his supporters that Sumter would be abandoned without war. Five weeks passed after Lincoln's inauguration, and still there was peace. Neither side was willing to bear the blame for starting a great civil war. Meanwhile Confederate commissioners had been sent to Washington to attempt a peaceful settle-



Map of Forts in Charleston Harbor

ment. They were not officially received. On April 8 President Lincoln notified the governor of South Carolina that he intended to supply the fort with provisions. At the same time he explained that he would not reënforce the garrison or add to the stock of ammunition unless the state troops resisted.

Fall of Fort Sumter. — On Saturday morning, April 13, 1861, the northern newspapers announced that Charleston troops were bombarding Fort Sumter. The Confederate government at Montgomery had finally concluded to attack the fort before it could be relieved. The bombardment began early on Friday, April 12, and lasted two days. Anderson and his men held out until the fort was in ruins and its wooden buildings were on fire. Then they surrendered. They were allowed to salute their flag and to depart for the North aboard Federal ships which were waiting off the harbor.

The Call to Arms. — In the North the attack on Fort Sumter was the signal which all had dreaded. If the Union were not to be dissolved, the government must be upheld. This was the sentiment of many northern Democrats, as well as of the Republicans. Buchanan and Douglas[1] let it be known that they would aid in enforcing the laws and in recovering the property of the United States.

Monday morning, April 15, Lincoln asked the governors of the states to supply the United States with 75,000 soldiers. It was a call to arms. The response, except from the border

FORT SUMTER AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT

states, went beyond the hopes of the North. The first volunteers were chiefly men in militia regiments already organized. The Sixth Massachusetts, composed of citizens of Concord, Lexington, and the surrounding towns, left for Washington within 48 hours.

The Southern Answer. — The response in the Confederate States to the call of Davis for troops was no less prompt and generous. A southern leader said, "The anxiety among our citizens is not as to who shall go to the wars, but who shall stay at home."

The Middle States of the South. — At first only the cotton states withdrew from the United States. A middle group of southern states — Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas — held aloof, doubtful what course

[1] Stephen A. Douglas, only 48 years of age, died a few weeks later, but to the last used his influence to unite the North.

to take. In them slavery was slowly disappearing. They opposed a war merely for its extension to the territories. Virginia was proud of the state's share in the nation's history, and hoped for some way to compromise. But as soon as these states saw that Lincoln intended to use force to preserve the Union they, too, joined the Confederacy. They did not believe the general government had power to compel a state to stay in the Union against its will. Besides, their closest bonds were with their southern neighbors.

THE WHITE HOUSE OF THE CONFEDERACY
Residence of President Jefferson Davis at Richmond

The Border States. — On the border between North and South were Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. In them slavery had so far declined that the majority of the people had little interest in defending it. There the business men were more closely connected with the North. In each of these states, however, were many who wanted to follow the example of the middle group. In Kentucky they were able to keep their government from taking sides for several months, but when a Confederate army invaded the state the people went over whole-heartedly to the support of the Union. Kentucky did not like being forced to support the Confederacy any more than some of the others did being forced to support the Union. The governor of Missouri re-

fused to send troops, but the timely energy of the German citizens of St Louis, under the leadership of Francis P. Blair, Jr. and Captain Lyon, saved the state for the Union. Maryland also was doubtful for a time, and the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was attacked by a mob as it was marching through Baltimore. The western counties of Virginia seceded from Virginia and formed a new state, West Virginia, which was later admitted into the Union. The people of east Tennessee were equally opposed to secession, but did not carry their opposition so far. The border states remained in the Union partly because of Lincoln's tact and generosity in dealing with them.

Eleven states in all joined in the effort to form a southern nation. Twenty-two states remained loyal to the old government. Richmond was chosen as the permanent capital of the Confederacy. The loss of Virginia was an especially serious one to the United States. Its nearness to Washington placed the capital in great danger. Several distinguished Virginia soldiers, among them Robert E. Lee, thought their duty was with their state and left the United States army to serve the South.

Questions

1. Why did the southern Democrats divide their party? Whom did the two parts nominate as candidates for President? Why did the Republicans nominate Lincoln? Why was Lincoln successful in the election of 1860? What was the program or demand of the southern leaders?

2. What did South Carolina do after the election of Lincoln? What states followed its example? Whom did the Confederate States choose as President and Vice-President? What kind of a constitution did they adopt?

3. What states wavered between the Union and the new republic? Which way did each incline?

4. What did Buchanan think of the withdrawal of the cotton states? What was the effect of his attitude?

5. What concession was Lincoln willing to make to prevent war between the northern and southern states? What did the leaders of the cotton states demand? What plan did some leaders like Horace Greeley advocate? Others like Seward?

6. Why were the northern people more attached to the Union than the southern?

7. What was the first obstacle that the Confederate States met? Why did Lincoln hesitate to send supplies and reënforcements to Fort Sumter? Why did the Confederate government finally attack Fort Sumter? What was the result?

8. What was the result of the call for troops in the northern states? In the southern states?

9. What states joined in the attempt to form a new republic in the South? Which ones were divided in sentiment and action? Why did distinguished Virginians like Robert E. Lee leave the army of the United States to aid the Confederate cause?

Exercises

1. How long was it after South Carolina seceded before war began by the attack on Fort Sumter?

2. Wherever possible gather stories of the topics mentioned in this chapter from persons who were living when the events happened.

Important Dates:

April 14, 1861. Fort Sumter captured by the troops of the Confederate States, beginning the Civil War.

CONFEDERATE BATTLE FLAG

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE BEGINNING OF CIVIL WAR

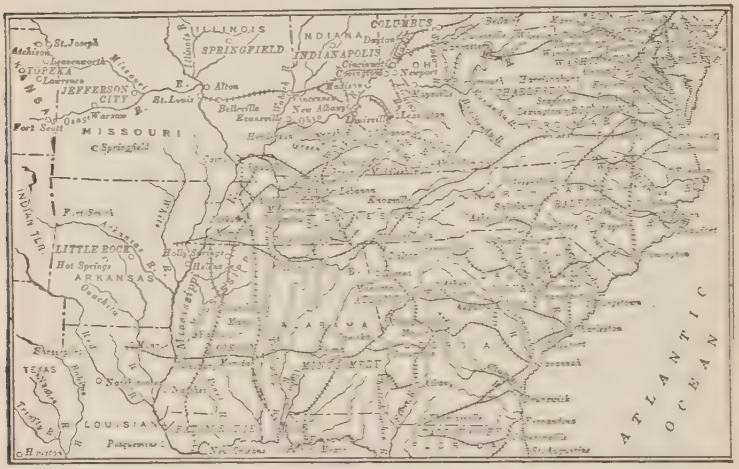
Resources of the North and the South. — The Southern leaders supposed that "cotton was king," but war proved that the kingdom of corn, wheat, coal, and iron was stronger. The planters were so occupied in raising cotton, and to some extent rice and sugar, that they did not build factories, open coal mines, and dig iron ore. Their system of railroads was incomplete and poorly equipped. English or northern ships carried their cotton to the market. Most of the steamboat lines which ran on western rivers belonged to northern companies. The food of the whole country was raised mainly on northern and western fields.

In war such things count. Armies must be fed, supplies must be carried rapidly, the wear and tear of campaigning must be met by new equipment. A people whose chief occupation is a particular kind of agriculture is at a great disadvantage in struggling with a people provided with a well-developed system of manufactures and a boundless food supply. The South was obliged to look to Europe for the military supplies that it could not produce and to pay for them with its cotton. It could not, however, send cotton abroad unless its ports were kept open. As the South had neither war-ships nor sufficient shipyards to build them, its trade with England and Europe was sure to be cut off sooner or later by a blockade.

The South was also at a disadvantage in numbers. The white population of the states in the Confederacy was 5,400,000, while the total population of the Union, including the border states, was 22,000,000. The disadvantage of the South in numbers, as compared with the North, was partially overcome by the employment of slaves not only in

raising food but also as teamsters and laborers in the army. Furthermore, many citizens of the border states fought in the southern armies.

Geography of the War. — The leaders of both North and South sought to grasp any advantage which their own situation or that of their enemies offered. As the navy remained loyal to the national government, the North possessed the sea power. It could choose points of attack on the Atlantic



Railroads and Navigable Waterways of the South, 1861

coast or on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Southern seaports soon felt the weight of war, while no northern port was threatened.

The great Appalachian barrier served to divide the war into two distinct fields of operation, that of Virginia and that of the Mississippi Valley. The barrier was pierced by northern railroads running from New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore westward, and by southern railroads from Richmond to Knoxville and Chattanooga, and from Charleston to Memphis.

Two valleys played an important part — the Shenandoah Valley and the Great Appalachian Valley of eastern Tennes-

see. The Shenandoah has been compared to a gun trained on Washington, through which troops might be discharged if the national armies moved southward toward Richmond. The Blue Ridge on the eastern side of the Shenandoah, with its many "gaps," served also as a screen behind which an army might move north or south, bursting through upon some weak point of the Union line. The valley could not be used equally well by the national armies, for it led away from Richmond toward the southwest. Through the Appalachian Valley, in like manner, a southern army could be thrown into Kentucky if the national armies advanced along the line of the Mississippi River.

Scene in the Shenandoah Valley

Except for the danger from the Shenandoah, the geography of Virginia seemed to favor the North. Chesapeake Bay and the James River offered an easy approach to Richmond. A direct march overland from Washington to Richmond was hampered by rivers running from the Piedmont hills to the coast, each furnishing a natural line of defense.

West of the Appalachians the advantage of position lay also with the North. The Mississippi was a great highway leading either north or south, but the North could build armed steamboats faster than the South. At only a few points in its course, such as Columbus in Kentucky, and Vicksburg in Mississippi, does the river touch high plateaus or bluffs which can be fortified. It is unlike a river flowing between hilly shores which offer a multitude of places for defense. Two other rivers, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, which

empty into the Ohio near where it joins the Mississippi, are navigable, the first to a point many miles above Nashville, the other as far as northern Alabama. In Tennessee, near the Kentucky border, they are only twelve miles apart.

Railroads were almost as important as rivers. It is true that raiders could tear up tracks and burn bridges, but trained workmen could soon replace both. Railroad junctions were especially important. Manassas Junction was such a place, where the railroad from Washington to Lynchburg was joined by a railroad from the Shenandoah Valley through Manassas Gap. Bowling Green, in Kentucky, was another, situated near the junction of the Louisville and Nashville and the Memphis and Ohio railroads. Still another was Corinth, Mississippi, where the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, the only through line from the lower Mississippi to the coast, crossed a railroad from Mobile. Chattanooga, in southeastern Tennessee, was important because of river, mountain pass, and railroad, for there the Tennessee River breaks through the Cumberland Plateau, the eastern wall of the Appalachian barrier. There also important railroads met, connecting the cities on the Mississsippi with Charleston and Richmond.

SCENE NEAR THE GATEWAY TO THE NORTH
The Shenandoah River near Harper's Ferry

Soldiers North and South. — Both North and South had trained officers to command at least a part of their armies. These men were graduates at West Point, had been in the regular army, and some of them had fought in

the Mexican War. The regular army numbered only 16,000 men. The chief reliance was upon volunteers. The Southerners, more accustomed to outdoor life, and the planters to leadership, were readily transformed into soldiers. The Northern volunteers came fresh from farms, factories, shops, and desks. Many of them were led into battle before they had been taught how to handle a gun. Others, both in the North and South, had received valuable training in militia regiments and in military schools.

A Sailing Frigate of the Old Navy
The *Sabine;* one of the first ships in the line of blockade

As the South stood on the defensive, simply insisting on its right to secede and form a separate nation, the Southern soldier was fighting on his own ground and in a climate to which he was accustomed. The North, declaring that the Union should be preserved, had the task of occupying the southern states and compelling their return to the Union. Its soldiers fought, in a sense, in a foreign country. Vast regions of the South were still a wilderness, with few roads and bridges. If the Northern armies succeeded in forcing their way far into the South, they had to guard a hundred places along their line of advance, or be cut off from their sources of supply.

Blockade of the South. — On April 19, five days after the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida in a state of blockade. A week later the other Confederate ports were included. At first it was a "paper" blockade, that is, the navy was not large enough to station ships before each port in order to carry out the proclamation.

The blockade proved a huge undertaking. The coast of the Confederacy stretched from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and contained 200 harbors. Every kind of vessel, even old ferryboats, had to be pressed into use as men-of-war. The lines of blockade were gradually drawn closer until within a year trade from southern ports almost entirely ceased. Only one-fiftieth as much cotton was exported in 1862 as in 1860.

Confederate Soldier in Uniform

The southern people made efforts to outwit the "sea-dogs" watching their coast. Shipbuilders in the South, the West Indies, and in Great Britain constructed swift blockade runners, with sides so low that at a little distance in the night they were almost invisible. These vessels often succeeded in escaping from unfrequented harbors, with cargoes of cotton, bound for the Bermudas and the Bahamas. They brought back supplies for the army or goods which the South could not produce.

Many stories are still told in the South about the bravery and success of the captains of the blockade runners. When a ship was able to bring a cargo from Europe the profits were worth the trouble. At one time cotton was $2.50 a pound in Liverpool, though it was only four or five cents a pound in Charleston.

The Confederacy seeks Allies. — It was so important for the South to trade with England and Europe that its leaders sought help abroad to break the blockade. They needed money and ships. They were in much the same situation as the colonies, which obtained supplies, an army, and a navy from Europe during the Revolution.

The governing classes of England and France sympathized with the South. They were eager to profit by the free trade which the Confederacy offered. There was no danger that the Southerners, like the Northerners, would become their

rivals in manufacturing. Many shrewd English and French statesmen were delighted that the great republic seemed falling into pieces. The workingmen of England, however, and most of the middle class, believed that the North was fighting the battle of free labor.

On account of the scarcity of cotton, English merchants and manufacturers wished the war to end speedily. Many cotton mills were closed and their employees dismissed. It is doubtful whether even the Southerners suffered as much as the employees of the English cotton factories. Many were kept from starvation only by food which the British government furnished.

Union Soldier in Uniform

England and the South. — Before the year 1861 was ended, England was nearly drawn into the struggle. The Confederate government sent two commissioners, Mason and Slidell, to persuade the English and the French to acknowledge that the Confederacy was an independent nation. The English government had already announced that it would treat the Southerners as "belligerents," that is, as persons having a right to carry on war, rather than as rebels against the United States. This action made many people in the North very angry. Had England formally acknowledged the independence of the South the United States would have taken the act as a declaration of war. The excitement was increased when news came that the commander of a Union war-ship had stopped the British steamer *Trent*, on which Mason and Slidell were traveling, and had arrested them. The act caused much rejoicing in the North, but President Lincoln at once saw that it was contrary to the principles that the United States had defended in 1812. He felt that the United States could not deny the rights of neutrals at one time and make

use of them at another. Consequently he ordered the release of the commissioners. The English government had already despatched troops to Canada, and but for the influence of Queen Victoria would have tried to take advantage of the blunder to humiliate the United States.

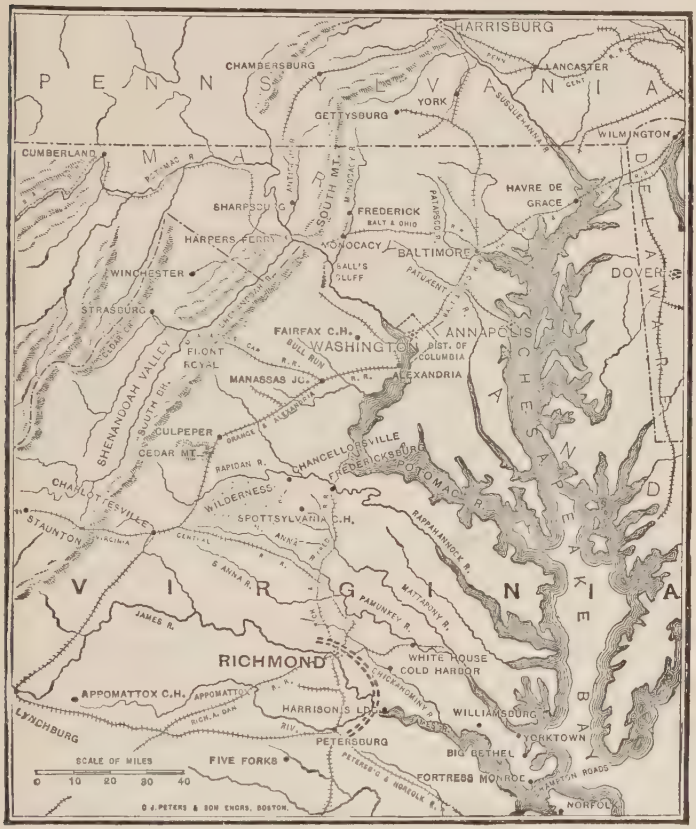
No sooner had this question been settled, than the United States learned that English ship-builders were constructing war vessels for the South. Two ships, the *Florida* and the *Alabama*, sailed from England in 1862 to fight for the Confederate cause. They were not strong enough to attack northern cities or to break the blockade of southern ports. They therefore ranged the seas, destroying Union merchant vessels until they were themselves captured. In permitting these vessels to sail the English government was in the wrong, and was later compelled to pay heavy damages.

The Cruiser "Alabama"

Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861. — With soldiers untrained no great battles could occur in the first months of the war. There was fighting in Missouri between the Unionists and Secessionists, and the Unionists succeeded in holding the state. In Kentucky ballots rather than bullets decided whether the state should secede. When the votes were counted it was found that a large majority were Union men. In the western counties of Virginia, Northern troops drove out a small army sent by the governor of the state. The Northern leader was George B. McClellan, a West Pointer who had fought in the Mexican War.

It was near Washington that the first important battle took place. The Confederate General Beauregard was in command of a small army at Manassas Junction, while General Joseph E. Johnston, with a few thousand more troops, was at Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley, not far from the railroad running through Manassas Gap to Manassas

Junction. The aged General Scott, who was still at the head of the United States army, and his second in command, General Irwin McDowell, forced by the impatience of the North,



Map of Campaigns in Virginia

planned an attack on Beauregard. Part of the plan was that a body of Federal troops in the Shenandoah Valley should keep Johnston busy.

It soon appeared that railroads and telegraphs were as important in war as in commerce. Johnston escaped from his enemy in the Shenandoah and began sending reënforcements

over the Manassas Gap Railroad to Beauregard. Scott, hearing the news from the Shenandoah, telegraphed McDowell that he had two armies to fight rather than one.

McDowell persisted in making the attack. His plan of battle was excellent, and everything went well until about three o'clock in the afternoon. By that time the Union and the Confederate troops were equally exhausted. Only one part of the Confederate line, commanded by General Thomas J. Jackson, stood firm. A brother officer exclaimed, "See Jackson, he stands like a stone wall." Henceforth Jackson bore the name of "Stonewall." Just then another division of Johnston's men appeared, brought by the railroad. They were fresh and were skillfully led. The exhausted Union soldiers wavered, broke, and fled. In the terrible panic which followed, many never stopped until they reached the neighborhood of Washington, thirty miles distant.

Lessons of the Battle. — The North and South learned valuable lessons from the battle. The northern people had counted upon a speedy victory. Such a defeat was a terrible blow, but after the first gloom passed off, the people set about preparing for a more serious struggle than they had expected. Some of the southern soldiers thought that the war was ended and started for home. Their army was almost as disorganized by victory as the northern army was by defeat.

The officers on both sides realized that time was needed to transform the brave and self-sacrificing volunteers into real soldiers, capable of manœuvering on the battlefield as well as on the parade ground. McClellan, an excellant organizer and drill-master, took charge of the northern army, now called the Army of the Potomac, while Johnston commanded the southern or Army of Northern Virginia. Robert E. Lee acted as President Davis's chief-of-staff. General Scott, weakened by age, soon withdrew, so that the Army of the Potomac was directed by McClellan alone.

Use of Sea Power. — The North used its rapidly constructed navy not only to establish a blockade before South-

ern ports, but also to occupy important points along the coast of the Confederacy. In August, 1861, Fort Hatteras on the North Carolina shore was captured, and in November Port Royal, one of the best harbors on the coast, only 50 miles from Charleston, South Carolina. A little later the North gained a foothold at the mouth of the Savannah River.

THE CUSTODIANS OF THE COAST

Ships of the Union Navy, stationed at the entrance to every important harbor, shut the South from the outside world

Questions

1. What advantages had the North at the beginning of the Civil War? The South? Of what use were the slaves to the South during the War?

2. Why did the North have the advantage on the ocean? How did the Appalachian barrier affect the war? What railroads pierced it? To which army were the Shenandoah and the Great Appalachian valleys of most use? Was Richmond easy of approach?

3. What rivers formed great highways into the South? Why were they useful for the North and harmful for the South?

4. What railroads were especially important in the Civil War? Were they as useful as rivers? Why were Vicksburg, Manassas Junction, Bowling Green, Corinth, and Chattanooga important places?

5. What advantages did the southern soldiers have over the northern?

6. What did it mean to declare the southern ports in a state of blockade? How did the blockade affect the South? What were the blockade runners doing? Why did they risk much?

7. What help did the Confederates seek? Who sympathized with them? Who did not? What class in England suffered greatly from the Civil War in the United States?

8. Why did the United States have trouble with England? Why did the United States release Mason and Slidell? Who in England did help the South? What should the English government have done in the matter?

9. Describe the first important battle of the Civil War. What part did the railroad and the telegraph have in the battle? Why did the Confederate army win? What did the officers of the North and of the South learn from the battle?

10. What successes had the Northern navy before the end of the first year?

Exercises

1. Find on a map (see page 362), the rivers, railroads, and important towns mentioned in this chapter, and tell why each one was mentioned.

2. How was the attempt of the South to secure help from England and France like the attempt of the colonies to secure help from France, Holland, and Spain in the Revolution?

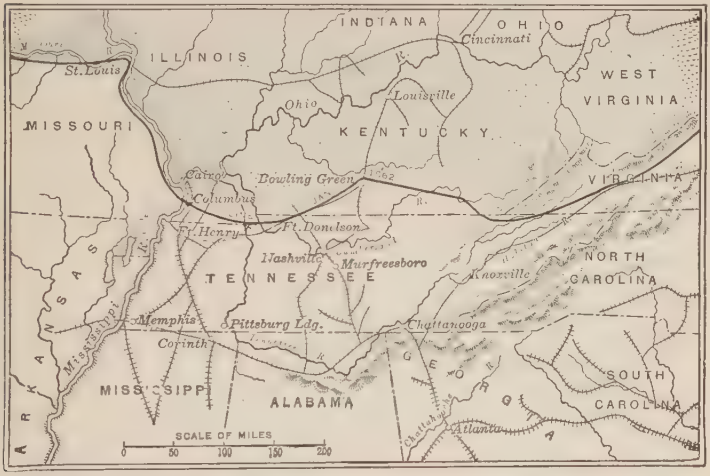
Important Date:

July 21, 1861. The Battle of Bull Run.

CHAPTER XXXIV

STORY OF VICTORY AND DEFEAT

A Long Struggle. — Compared with other recent wars, the Civil War had by 1862 lasted a long time. Two years before, France had begun a war with Austria in April and it had ended in July. A few years later, a war between Austria and Prussia opened in June and closed in August. The



E LINE OF DEFENSE IN JANUARY, 1862

Civil War was to last three years longer, although within a year and a half it was clear that the North was slowly gaining the advantage. The change was due to campaigns in the Mississippi Valley, for the positions of the armies in Virginia remained almost the same in spite of the most desperate fighting.

Confederate Line of Defense broken. — In January, 1862, the Confederate line of defense ran from the fortifications at Columbus on the Mississippi River, through Fort

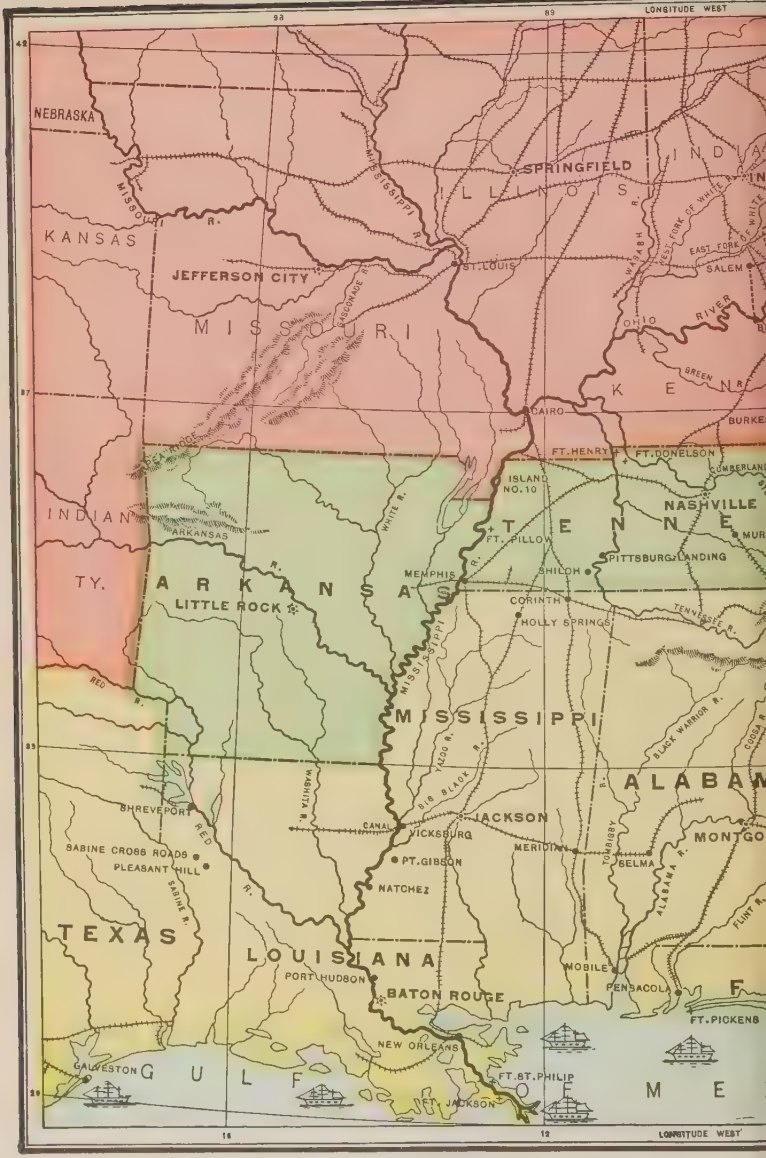
Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson, twelve miles away on the Cumberland, past Bowling Green, to Cumberland Gap. The position of Columbus was very strong. It was situated on bluffs so high that it could not be reached by guns fired from armed steamers, while the plunging fire of its batteries would destroy any vessels which attempted to pass. If the Confederate line was to be broken, the attack must be made elsewhere. The Union officers concluded to make it at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. The expedition was commanded by General Ulysses S. Grant, a graduate from West Point, who had fought in the Mexican War.

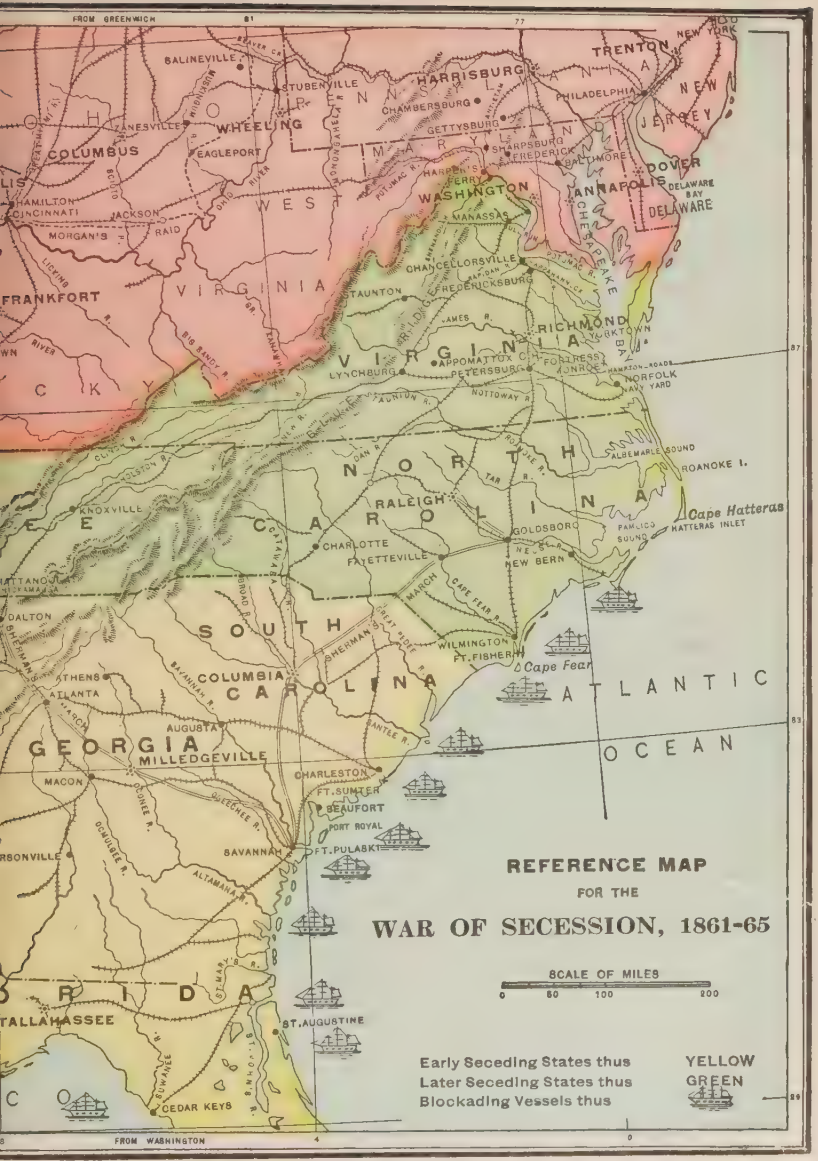
General Grant's army was assisted by armored gunboats, a new kind of war vessel. Seven had been built at St. Louis in 1861. They did not resemble ordinary river steamboats. Their sides were sloping and built of heavy oak planking. In front the oak was twenty-four inches thick and covered by iron plates two and a half inches thick. The sides next to the machinery were also covered with iron. As the gunboats moved through the water they looked like great clumsy turtles.[1]

Capture of Fort Donelson. — The little war fleet steamed up the Tennessee to within 600 yards of Fort Henry and compelled it to surrender after a lively cannonade. A similar attack on Fort Donelson was not so successful, for two of the gunboats had their steering gear shot away and drifted about helplessly. Grant ordered an immediate attack by his army, and after severe fighting the Confederate commander surrendered with 14,000 men. The news of this success filled the North with rejoicing. It was the first important victory which the Union troops had gained.

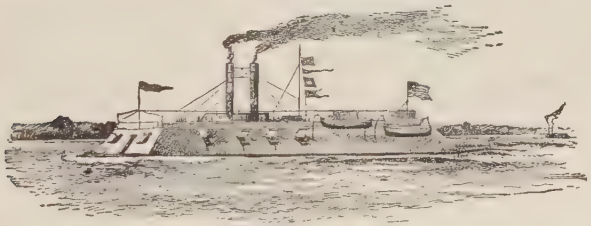
The loss of the two forts which guarded the upper waters of the Tennessee and the Cumberland threw the Confederate defense into confusion. Both Columbus and Bowling Green were abandoned. Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, situated on the Cumberland River, was also abandoned by the

[1] A few armored vessels had been used in Europe nine years before in the Crimean War.


LONGITUDE WEST
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
INDIAN TY.
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
LOUISIANA
TEXAS
GULF OF MEXICO
SPRINGFIELD
JEFFERSON CITY
ST. LOUIS
CAIRO
FT. HENRY
FT. DONELSON
ISLAND NO. 10
NASHVILLE
FT. PILLOW
PITTSBURG LANDING
SHILOH
MEMPHIS
CORINTH
HOLLY SPRINGS
LITTLE ROCK
VICKSBURG
JACKSON
CANAL
MERIDIAN
SELMA
MONTGOMERY
PT. GIBSON
NATCHEZ
SHREVEPORT
SABINE CROSS ROADS
PLEASANT HILL
PORT HUDSON
BATON ROUGE
NEW ORLEANS
MOBILE
PENSACOLA
FT. PICKENS
GALVESTON
FT. ST. PHILIP
FT. JACKSON
MISSISSIPPI R.
MISSOURI R.
OHIO RIVER
WABASH R.
EAST FORK OF WHITE R.
WHITE R.
ARKANSAS R.
RED R.
TENNESSEE R.
CUMBERLAND R.
BLACK WARRIOR R.
TOMBIGBY R.
ALABAMA R.
FLINT R.
YAZOO R.
BIG BLACK R.
WASHITA R.
SABINE R.
93
89
49
37
33
29
16
12
LONGITUDE WEST


REFERENCE MAP
FOR THE
WAR OF SECESSION, 1861-65
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Early Seceding States thus YELLOW
Later Seceding States thus GREEN
Blockading Vessels thus
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cape Fear
Cape Hatteras
HATTERAS INLET
ROANOKE I.
ALBEMARLE SOUND
PAMLICO SOUND
NEW BERN
GOLDSBORO
RALEIGH
CHARLOTTE
FAYETTEVILLE
WILMINGTON
FT. FISHER
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA
CHARLESTON
FT. SUMTER
BEAUFORT
PORT ROYAL
FT. PULASKI
SAVANNAH
AUGUSTA
ATHENS
ATLANTA
MACON
MILLEDGEVILLE
GEORGIA
TALLAHASSEE
ST. AUGUSTINE
CEDAR KEYS
RICHMOND
PETERSBURG
LYNCHBURG
APPOMATTOX C.H.
FORTRESS MONROE
HAMPTON ROADS
NORFOLK
NAVY YARD
CHANCELLORSVILLE
FREDERICKSBURG
STAUNTON
VIRGINIA
WASHINGTON
ANNAPOLIS
DOVER
DELAWARE BAY
DELAWARE
PHILADELPHIA
TRENTON
NEW JERSEY
HARRISBURG
GETTYSBURG
CHAMBERSBURG
SHARPSBURG
FREDERICK
BALTIMORE
MANASSAS
HARPER'S FERRY
WHEELING
COLUMBUS
EAGLEPORT
ZANESVILLE
STUBENVILLE
BALLINEVILLE
CINCINNATI
HAMILTON
JACKSON
MORGAN'S RAID
FRANKFORT
KNOXVILLE
CHATTANOOGA
DALTON
ATHENS
ATLANTA
MACON
SAVANNAH
TALLAHASSEE
CEDAR KEYS
FROM GREENWICH
FROM WASHINGTON

Confederate troops within ten days. Light gunboats steamed up the Tennessee to northern Mississippi and Alabama, destroying or capturing southern steamboats and supplies. The Confederate armies established a new line of defense running from Memphis through Corinth and Chattanooga. This line was also broken after one of the severest battles of the war, that of Shiloh, near Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River.[1] Corinth was then taken, and a gunboat fleet moved down the Mississippi and forced Memphis to surrender. The Confederates held thereafter no other important fortified place on the Mississippi River except Vicksburg, for New Orleans had meanwhile been captured.



A Mississippi Ironclad Gunboat

Capture of New Orleans. — The capture of New Orleans was an exploit of the Union navy, under the leadership of Flag-officer David G. Farragut, a native of Tennessee, who had remained loyal to the national government. Farragut fought his way, April 24, past the forts which guarded the river below the city. A Federal army soon landed and took possession. The fall of New Orleans, the largest city and the principal seaport of the South, was a great blow to the Confederacy. It opened the lower Mississippi to northern fleets and made the blockade easier.

[1] At Pittsburg Landing, about twenty miles from Corinth, Grant acted as if he had forgotten how near the enemy was. The Confederates under Albert Sidney Johnston surprised him and drove his army back in disorder during the first day's fighting. The great Confederate leader was killed in battle. During the following night General Buell reënforced Grant with a fresh army. The second day Grant drove the Confederates off the field.

Nothing further was accomplished in the West by either side for several months. General Bragg led a large Confederate army through the Appalachian Valley into Kentucky, hoping to rally the people of that state to the southern cause. He was checked in the neighborhood at Louisville. He then retreated into Tennessee, where at the close of the year he fought the desperate battle of Murfreesboro, but failed to dislodge the Federals from the central part of the state. The beginning of 1863 found the Federal troops in the positions they had won in Tennessee and northern Mississippi.

Federal Plans in Virginia. — The partial success of the Federal plans in the West was not repeated in the East. The hopes of the North were centered on the Army of the Potomac which McClellan had organized and which numbered 185,000 men. McClellan planned to transport this army to the old Yorktown peninsula and to advance upon Richmond. In March, 1862, the appearance in Hampton Roads of a new Confederate fighting ship threatened his plan, for a day at least.

"Merrimac" and "Monitor." — Upon the outbreak of the war the national government had abandoned the navy yard in Norfolk, Virginia. A powerful frigate, the *Merrimac*, had been set on fire and then sunk. The Confederates raised it, cut away its masts, and boxed the main part of the deck with sloping sides covered with heavy iron plates. It was a much stronger vessel than any of the gunboats recently completed at St. Louis.

On March 8, the *Merrimac* steamed out of Norfolk and attacked the frigates on blockade duty in Hampton Roads. One it rammed and sank, another it set on fire. The cannon balls of the Union guns glanced from its iron plates like rubber balls. Its commander, satisfied with his day's work, steamed back to Norfolk, expecting to destroy the rest of the fleet the next day. When the news of what had happened reached Washington, the government was thrown into a panic, for President Lincoln and his officials believed that the *Merrimac*

would move up the Potomac and fire on the capital. The sea power appeared to have passed to the Confederates.

Fortunately for the Union cause, John Ericsson, a Swedish engineer, had just completed in the Brooklyn navy yard a vessel equally formidable, called the *Monitor*. Its deck was raised only a few feet above the water line. Upon the deck was placed a round gun-house or turret, turned by machinery, so that the two heavy guns could be pointed in any direction. Those who saw it for the first time compared it to a "cheese-box on a raft."

THE "MONITOR" AND THE "MERRIMAC"

When the *Merrimac* moved out of Norfolk, on March 9, to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet, it was met by this strange antagonist, scarcely one-fourth its size. For four hours the two cannonaded each other. The *Monitor* had the advantage in rapidity of motion, so that it could avoid the heavy blows of the *Merrimac's* ram. Finally the *Merrimac* gave up the fight and retreated to Norfolk. Both sides claimed the victory, but the *Merrimac* did not come out again, and two months later it was blown up by its own men when they were obliged to abandon Norfolk.

The battle of the ironclads in Hampton Roads interested the whole world. Builders of naval ships in England and Europe saw that the older kind of battle-ship was now useless and that they had to reconstruct their navies. The "Super-Dreadnought" of to-day does not much resemble the little *Monitor*, but the use of the turret is the same.

Winning Victories and losing a Campaign. — The success of the *Monitor* enabled McClellan to begin his campaign. His army was carried down to the neighborhood of Yorktown by water. It was well organized, and the soldiers had confidence in their leader. McClellan was a good manager.

He made full use of railroad and telegraph. As his army marched forward a telegraph line was run to his new headquarters. He could telegraph to the President or the Secretary of War at any moment. If the army paused, wires were run to the headquarters of every division of troops, so that McClellan could send his orders instantly.

McClellan was not a "fighter" like Grant. He listened to rumors which declared that the Confederates had more soldiers than he, although he had twice as many. He was

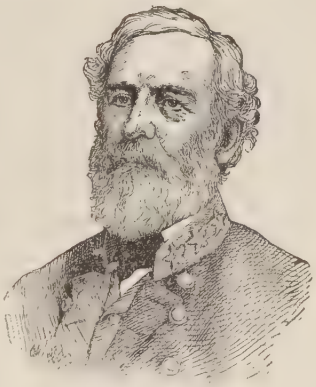
A Crossing of Bull Run near the Battle Field

After a photograph taken in 1862

angry because the government kept McDowell with 40,000 men near Washington, instead of sending them to aid in the capture of Richmond. Just at that time Jackson had thrown the Washington officials into a panic by a raid down the Shenandoah Valley as far as the Potomac. McClellan won several victories, but was finally obliged to abandon the attempt to capture Richmond, although once he was within four miles of the city. The commander of the Confederate army at first was Joseph E. Johnston, but he was wounded and General Lee took his place.

Lee's Successes. — Some weeks later, in the last days of August, 1862, Lee severely defeated a Union army a second time on the old field of Bull Run, and drove it back on Wash-

ington. It was his turn to plan an invasion. In September he marched north, east of the Blue Ridge, and crossed the Potomac into Maryland. This was an attempt to carry the war on to Union soil and to relieve Virginia. McClellan was recalled from the Peninsula to defend Washington. On September 17, with an army twice as large as Lee's, he checked Lee at Antietam. His methodical caution permitted Lee to return to Virginia. McClellan was now removed from command. In December, a new commander, General Burnside, recklessly hurled the Union army against Lee on the heights behind Fredericksburg, and was repulsed with frightful losses. More than twelve thousand of his best troops were left on the battle field. After that the armies rested and the year closed in Virginia much as it had opened. Gloom and discouragement prevailed in the North. Two years had passed, and the South was unconquered. Instead, it was rejoicing in victories.



Robert E. Lee

A New Weapon, January 1, 1863. — In this time of disappointment Lincoln decided to try a new weapon against the South. During the war the slaves had remained faithful to their masters, generally in ignorance of what it all meant. They raised the food which supplied the Confederate armies, or acted as teamsters and laborers, or as servants to the officers. Their work relieved the southerners so that more men could serve as soldiers.

On January 1, 1863, Lincoln announced that henceforth the slaves in all the Confederate states not at that time held by Union troops would be considered as free. He hoped that this would weaken the South. It would mean that wherever northern armies went after that date the slaves would be made free and cease to support the Confederates.

Lincoln hoped for even more from his emancipation proclamation. There were increasing numbers of people in England and in the North who looked upon slavery as a great wrong. Lincoln himself said, "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong," but he wanted to save the Union, and "not either to save or destroy slavery." He thought that was for the southern states to do. He said, "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. And if I could save it by freeing some, and leaving others alone, I would also do that." He finally decided that he could save the Union only by destroying slavery.

Results of the Emancipation Proclamation. — The only immediate effect of the decision was to encourage those in the North opposed to slavery and to win the sympathy of the English people. Abolitionists and Unionists were now united in a common cause, for the success of the North meant both the saving of the Union and the freeing of slaves.

Lincoln's Plan of paying the Owners of Slaves. — Slavery had been gradually breaking down in the loyal border states and in the other slave states wherever the Union army went. In such places the negroes were roaming about working for whomsoever they pleased and whenever they pleased. Many of them found employment as soldiers, or laborers about the Union camps. In 1862 Congress had freed the slaves in the District of Columbia and had paid the owners for their loss. Lincoln was anxious to extend the same arrangement to the border states. He proposed that Congress in like manner compensate all owners of slaves in the border states and in the South who would recognize the Union, but such plans were soon forgotten in the heat of war.

Will the Union fail? — The third year opened darker than ever for the Union. Lincoln's proclamation of Emancipation gave offense to the northern Democrats, who thought that the President had no power to interfere with slavery in the states whether in time of peace or war. Lincoln had said that he could not in time of peace, but that the war gave

him the power. Besides, the Democrats had never believed Lincoln capable of saving the Union. Men asked whether it would not be better to yield to the South and stop so costly a war. Many of the soldiers were weary of the struggle. Officers said that a thousand deserted every week. The government was unable to obtain sufficient volunteers in some states, especially in New York, and drafted men — that is, chose them by lot — for the army.

Cost of the War. — The expenses of the national government before the outbreak of the Civil War had been small, reaching in 1860 only to the sum of $63,000,000 a year. They were nearly twenty times that before the war closed. At first Congress was afraid to lay heavy taxes, lest the people should lose their enthusiasm to preserve the Union. By 1862 Congress began to tax everything. Among the taxes was one like the Stamp Act of 1765, providing for the use of stamps on receipts, legal papers, and other documents. Congress also authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow large sums, giving interest-bearing bonds in return. In 1862 it was decided to issue "Greenbacks" instead of depending alone on taxes and on selling bonds. The Greenbacks were like the Continental money issued during the Revolutionary War. Prices in paper money rose until they were more than twice as high as prices in gold or silver. Very little coin was in circulation. In order to sell its bonds the government aided in the establishment of National Banks, permitting them to issue bank notes if they bought government bonds of a value greater than the amount of the notes issued.

If the National government found difficulties in raising money, the Confederate government had difficulties still greater. It relied on the cotton crop as a means of borrowing money in Europe, but the cotton could not be exported. It also issued paper money, which lost value much faster than the Greenbacks.

Gettysburg, July, 1863. — In May, 1863, the Union army attempted to march overland against Richmond, only to be defeated again by Lee at Chancellorsville. But the vic-

tory was costly to the Confederates, for during the battle "Stonewall" Jackson was accidentally shot by his own men.

General Lee concluded to carry the war again into the northern states. He believed that a decisive victory near Philadelphia or Baltimore would end the struggle. The northern Democrats would rise against the Republican President. Their sons would cease volunteering in the Union army. The bankers would refuse to lend their money. England and France would recognize the Confederacy as an independent republic.

Lee advanced, this time by way of the Shenandoah Valley, and crossed Maryland into Pennsylvania. Once his cavalry approached within three miles of Harrisburg. General George G. Meade was now in command of the Union army. He met Lee at the little town of Gettysburg. The battle raged for three days. For the first two days the Confederates seemed to be gaining. But the main position of the Union army was very strong. It was on Cemetery Ridge, south of Gettysburg. This ridge was about three miles long and was composed of hills. At the northern end it curved around like a fish hook. Here the Confederates advanced part way up the slope. Their principal position, however, was Seminary Ridge, parallel to Cemetery Ridge[1] and about three-quarters of a mile away across gently rolling fields.

On the third day, July 3, 1863, Lee decided to strike a decisive blow. General Pickett was ordered to charge the center of the Union line, which was under the command of General Hancock. For two hours before the charge 115 cannon bombarded the Union army. When Lee thought that it had been thrown into confusion, Pickett, with 15,000 Confederate veterans, advanced across the fields and up the slopes of the ridge. Two of the bravest officers of the Civil War were pitted against each other, Hancock against Pickett. Pickett's men advanced. Shot poured into their ranks from every side. Men fell by companies. And yet on they went. A

[1] Seminary Ridge was named for a Lutheran school situated there. Cemetery Ridge was the location of the town cemetery.

hundred or so reached the Union line and fought hand to hand, only to fall or be made prisoners.

The battle of Gettysburg stopped the invasion of the North. On the Fourth of July Lee slowly, painfully, sadly returned to Virginia. The crisis for the North was past. But at what a cost! Lee had left behind 28,000 men, killed, wounded, and missing; Meade, 23,000. This was the end of the fighting in the East in 1863.

The Capture of Vicksburg, July 3, 1863. — The third day of July, 1863, was a memorable day in the Civil War. On

THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Looking southwest over the fields across which Pickett charged. Round Top at the upper left part. The "clump of trees" in the middle distance

the same day that Meade turned Lee back, Grant captured Vicksburg. This was a natural fortress set on high bluffs, footed with marshes and rivers.

Since Grant's successes on the Mississippi in 1862, he had been preparing for the capture of Vicksburg. The Union army tried to take the town first by assault, but failing, settled down to a regular siege. The people of Vicksburg still tell of the horrors of the last weeks of the siege — how they hid in caves to avoid bursting shells; how, finally, they were forced to eat shoe-leather to keep from starving; how fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons died in the trenches.

The Turning of the Tide. — The Confederates lost an army of 30,000 with the surrender of Vicksburg. Three states

Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, were cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. Union fleets sailed up and down the Mississippi. The Mississippi Valley lay at the mercy of the Union armies.

Questions

1. What were the chief points in the Confederate line of defense at the beginning of 1862?

2. Where did Grant begin the attack on the Confederate line of defense? Why was the capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson regarded as a great loss to the Confederate cause and a great gain to the Union? What other points did the Union army capture?

3. Who captured New Orleans? Why was its capture a great loss for the Confederate states?

4. What did General Bragg try to do?

5. What was McClellan's plan in 1862? What would have been the result of the success of the *Merrimac?* Why were Europeans interested in the battle of the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor?*

6. In what ways was McClellan a great leader? Why was he unsuccessful in his attempt to capture Richmond?

7. What success did Lee have in 1862? What defeat?

8. Why did Lincoln declare the slaves in the Confederate States free? What change was taking place with regard to slavery in the border states? What plan did Lincoln urge on Congress?

9. How did the United States and the Confederate States obtain money with which to carry on the war?

10. Why was the victory of Lee at Chancellorsville said to be costly for the Confederates? What was his plan after this victory?

11. Describe the battle of Gettysburg. Why was the result of such great importance for the United States?

12. What success had Grant in the West?

Exercises

1. Find on the map, page 373, or locate on an outline map on the board, the chief points in the Confederate line of defense at the beginning of 1862, again after the fall of Fort Donelson, and finally after the fall of Vicksburg in 1863.

2. What resemblance is there between the *Monitor* and a modern Super-Dreadnought?

Important Dates:

January 1, 1863. Lincoln declares the slaves in the Confederate States, except the parts held by the northern army, to be free.

July 3, 1863. The battle of Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg.

CHAPTER XXXV

CONQUERING A PEACE

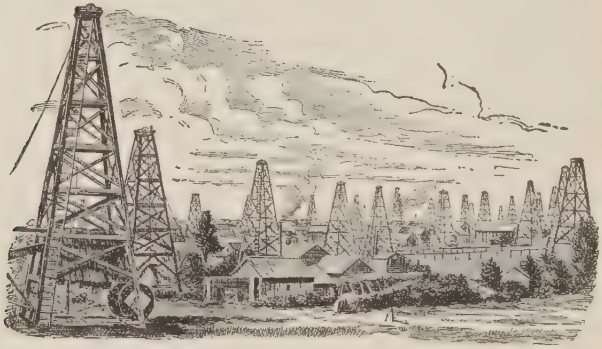
The North grows stronger. — We have seen that at the beginning of the war the North had an advantage over the South not only in population but also in agriculture and industry. This advantage increased as the struggle went on, for workmen on farms, in factories, on steamship lines and railways were just as necessary to success as soldiers on the field of battle.

By the fall of 1863 scores of new factories had been built in the North to make muskets, cannon, armor for ironclads, and other military and naval supplies. Great quantities of iron ore were brought from Lake Superior to Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh. Other kinds of manufacturing also flourished. Clothiers learned to make uniforms in standard sizes by the thousands, " ready-to-wear " instead of by the tailor's method of fitting each customer. Shoe factories adopted Gordon McKay's machine for sewing the uppers of shoes to the soles. As a result one man could do the work of 100 men in the old way. The shoe shops scattered over the country by the way-side disappeared as their men found other work or joined the armies. Huge shoe factories in Lynn, Haverhill, Danvers and other cities supplied the government with the shoes it required. One who watched the busy life of a northern city at the time would scarcely have imagined that a terrible war was raging three or four hundred miles to the south.

Some of the greatest changes took place on the farms. The place of the farmer's sons who enlisted in the army was taken by machinery. By the close of the war 250,000 reapers were in use, each of which could cut nearly an acre

an hour. Thousands of women on the farms did the work of the absent men. Immigrants continued to come from northern Europe, especially England and Ireland, and they, too, strengthened the North for the final struggles of the war. The population of the states in the valley of the upper Mississippi was half again as large in 1870 as in 1860, in spite of the losses by war.

New industries were also begun. A little while before the war petroleum was found in several regions by drilling deep wells. In 1862, 3,000,000 barrels of petroleum were taken from the wells, chiefly in northwestern Pennsylvania. The



Scene in the Oil District of Pennsylvania

crude oil was sent to Cleveland, Erie, Pittsburgh, and other cities and refined, making kerosene, gasoline, naptha, and other useful products.

The discovery of silver and then gold in Nevada started a rush of settlers to that region like that to California in 1849. Nevada grew so rapidly that Congress admitted it into the Union in 1864. Settlements were also begun in the region since included in Montana, Idaho, Colorado, and Arizona. Such discoveries also increased the wealth and power of the North.[1]

[1] Shortly before the opening of the Civil War a line of overland coaches began carrying the mail and passengers regularly from the Missouri River to New Mexico, California, and Oregon, following the trails of the prairie schooners. Short lines were started to the chief

Sanitary Commission. — Still another group of people were of great help to the armies in the field. At the opening of the war the women formed Ladies' Aid Societies and made bandages, lint, towels, bedclothes, and whatever else the soldiers needed to make their lot comfortable. Some women in New York City formed a relief association which grew into the United States Sanitary Commission. The men and women who joined it did the work that the Red Cross has since taken over. Fairs were held everywhere to raise money. The Sanitary Commission sent nurses and supplies to the armies. In the leading cities soldiers passing through

HOME OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION IN WASHINGTON IN 1863

The Sanitary Commission tried to send to the soldiers each month a box containing edibles and wearing apparel

were supplied with meals, lodgings, and the comforts they would have had at home. The work of a few of the members of the Sanitary Commission like Clara Barton has not been

mining camps of Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Colorado. It required 22 or 23 days and nights of continuous traveling to reach California. The heavy four-mule stage-coaches were dragged at a galloping pace over desert and mountain roads. It was anything but a comfortable journey, sleeping in the seats, halting ten minutes for meals, and watching at all times for attacks from hostile Indians. The "Pony Express," a line of fleet horsemen, carried the more important mail over the same route in about eight days. In 1861 a telegraph line joined the East and the West in easy communication, and soon displaced the "Pony Express."

forgotten. She went from camp to camp distributing supplies for the wounded soldiers.

Condition in the South. — While the North was growing stronger, the South was becoming exhausted. The people worked loyally for the success of their cause, but the disadvantages of their situation were too great. Corn and wheat, the principal crops of the North, continued to find markets in England and on the Continent. Cotton, the principal crop of the South, could not be sold. The bales were used for breastworks or lay exposed to the weather. If Union armies passed where cotton was stored, they seized it. Many of the farmers gave up raising cotton and raised corn to feed their armies. They were paid in Confederate paper money, which sank lower and lower in value. Mrs. Davis kept a diary in Richmond, and in 1864 she wrote that a turkey cost her $60, a pair of shoes $150, and a barrel of flour $300. In 1865 this money was worthless. Other forms of wealth besides money gave out. Unable to secure iron and other materials for the railroads, these wore out.

During the war most of the able-bodied men were in the army. At least a third of them were killed or crippled. In their absence the work was done by the old men, women, children and slaves. They also had to learn to make articles which they could no longer obtain by trade with the North or with England.

People who lived in the South at the time tell how they parched rye and dried blackberry leaves to take the place of coffee and tea. The women drew out the spinning wheels and hand-looms, and made clothing. They found herbs and roots to furnish dye stuffs. The old men and the more skillful slaves learned to make shoes and ordinary tools. In ways of living they went back to the old colonial times.

Another Gate to the Cotton States. — In the fall of 1863 the scene of war was shifted to eastern Tennessee. The prize of victory was Chattanooga and the passes south of it through the Appalachians into northern Georgia. After gaining possession of the city, the Union army was defeated

at Chickamauga Creek, a few miles southward. Only the courage and skill of General George H. Thomas, a Virginian, who commanded the left of the Union line, saved the army from ruin. The rest of the army was retreating in disorder, and his troops were hemmed in on three sides, but he could not be driven from his position. On that day he won the name of the "Rock of Chickamauga."

Ulysses S. Grant

Soon after the battle of Chickamauga, General Grant took command. Supported by Sherman, Thomas, and Hooker,[1] he attacked the Confederates on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Again General Thomas's men covered themselves with glory. Without waiting for orders, they attacked the crest of the ridge immediately in front of them, and clambered up the slopes of Missionary Ridge, three or four hundred feet high, over rocks and tree trunks in the face of a withering fire. The story of their successful charge deserves a place beside that of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg.

The victories around Chattanooga were as important as the capture of Vicksburg. The gateway into the older cotton states was open. Would a northern army pass through into the very heart of the South? This question troubled the Confederate leaders at the beginning of 1864.

Grant Commander-in-Chief. — Lincoln once said that it was a bad plan to change horses while crossing a stream,

[1] Hooker's army of 23,000 was sent from Virginia, on the railroads, by way of Louisville and Nashville, a distance of 1192 miles, in seven days. Longstreet's army had been sent by rail to reënforce the Confederates before Chickamauga. Its route was also roundabout, through the Carolinas and Georgia.

but several times he had been obliged to change commanders of the army. He was always on the lookout for a general whom he could fully trust. For two years he had been watching the straightforward, modest, untiring soldier of Fort Donelson, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga. In February, 1864, he made Grant Lieutenant-general and placed him in command of the whole Union army, in the East as well as the West. Sherman was given the immediate command of the western armies, while Meade still commanded the Army of the Potomac. Grant, assisted by Meade, undertook in May, 1864, an advance upon Richmond. On the same day Sherman began the invasion of Georgia. For the first time all the Union armies were to aid one another in carrying out a common plan. The Confederates could no longer shift troops by rail from Virginia to the Southwest or from the West to Virginia.

The Armies in 1864. — The armies of both North and South had long been composed mainly of veteran soldiers. The losses had to be made up by new recruits, but these untried men learned quickly by the experience and example of the older soldiers. The northern army was gaining steadily in numbers, while the southern army was decreasing, because the North had a far greater population upon which to draw. In 1864 the Union armies contained more than twice as many soldiers as the Confederate armies.

Grant's Advance. — In the campaign of 1864 Grant was true to his reputation as a fighter. His plan was to march overland upon Richmond. He outnumbered Lee two to one, but much of the time Lee had the advantage of fighting behind earthworks which defended every approach to the Confederate capital. The first struggle took place in the Wilderness, not far from the battle-field of Chancellorsville. It was not a defeat for Grant, but neither was it a victory. Other commanders might have withdrawn in order to make a new start, but Grant ordered his army to move around the Confederate right. He resolved to hammer constantly at the obstacle and wear out his antagonist. Lee's losses were

more costly than Grant's, because the gaps in his ranks could no longer be filled. Grant lost in the summer campaign as many men as Lee had in his whole army, filling their places with recruits. Before summer was over he had laid siege to Richmond, though he had not succeeded in breaking through Lee's lines of defense.

Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. — As at the time of McClellan's advance in 1862, a Confederate army under General Early was sent down the Shenandoah Valley to throw Washington into a panic and prevent reënforcements being sent to Grant. Grant sent General Sheridan, who became

FIELD-WORKS FOR DEFENSE
The kind used in the Civil War

famous as a cavalry commander, to drive Early off. Sheridan had twice the force of Early, and before the harvest season was over had cleared the Valley of Confederates. He also laid waste the Valley. Barns, mills, and many houses were burned. The horses, mules, and cattle were driven away. Grant and Sheridan meant that the farmers of the Shenandoah should never again furnish Lee with provisions. It was said that a crow flying over the country would have to carry his provisions with him.

The Taking of Atlanta. — While Grant hammered away at Lee's lines around Richmond, and Sheridan laid the beautiful Shenandoah Valley in blackened ruins, Sherman carried out his part of the plan. His army advanced from Chattanooga into Georgia. The Confederates destroyed the railroad as they retreated, and Sherman rebuilt it. Upon that railroad

he depended for food and military supplies, sent from Louisville through Nashville and Chattanooga. As Sherman had 100,000 men and 35,000 horses, he calculated that to deliver food and forage regularly would have required 36,800 wagons, each drawn by six mules. The telegraph also followed his advance, so that almost every day he was able to send word to General Grant of his progress. On September 2 he succeeded in capturing Atlanta, the chief manufacturing town for military supplies in the Confederacy.

Farragut at Mobile. — While Sherman was still fighting about Atlanta, Farragut, with a strong fleet, attacked the defenses of Mobile, Alabama, one of the few southern ports which still remained open. His ships had to fight not only the Confederate forts, but also an iron-clad ram, the *Tennessee*, almost as powerful as the *Merrimac*. After a severe struggle the *Tennessee* was taken and the forts surrendered.

From Atlanta to the Sea. — After remaining in Atlanta several weeks, Sherman obtained Grant's consent to a bold plan of marching across Georgia to the sea. General Thomas with a part of the army, returned to Chattanooga to defend Tennessee, for a Confederate army had started northward, hoping to draw Sherman after it. That army Thomas destroyed near Nashville in December.

Before Sherman left Atlanta, storehouses, mills, machine shops — everything which contributed supplies to the Confederate armies — were destroyed. As his army swept across Georgia it left a track of desolation nearly 60 miles wide. The Georgia farmers had been raising corn instead of cotton, and they furnished a large part of the food for Lee's army. Sherman, like Sheridan in the Shenandoah, left nothing that could be of any use to an army. Bridges were burned, railroads were torn up, and the rails were heated and twisted.

Sherman's army marched twelve or fifteen miles a day. There was no army to oppose, and Sherman captured Savannah in time to offer it to Lincoln as a Christmas gift.

Reëlection of Lincoln. — Before the campaigns of 1864 were over a new election had taken place. Many Republi-

can politicians, unmindful of the great work that Lincoln had done, planned to set him aside and put forward some one else as the candidate of the Republican party. When the convention met they discovered that the people believed in Lincoln. The opposition dwindled into nothing, and he was triumphantly nominated. The Democrats nominated General McClellan, declared the war a failure, and urged the summoning of delegates from all the states to a convention which should restore peace. The news of the capture of Atlanta,

A Confederate Hospital on the Firing-line
In front of Petersburg

of Farragut's capture of Mobile, and of Sheridan's victory over Early in the Shenandoah put new life into Lincoln's cause and he was reëlected.

Drawing the Net on Lee. — Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea destroyed Lee's last important source of supplies. The end of the war was near. In January, 1865, Sherman's army continued its journey. This time it marched northward across South Carolina and North Carolina. Sherman was slowly drawing the net closer upon Lee.

Surrender of Lee April 9, 1865. — Grant had not ceased his attacks on Lee during the winter. Food and ammunition was slowly giving out in Richmond. Lee's army was finally reduced to parched corn for food. On April 2 Lee abandoned Richmond. He could hold it against Grant no longer. One week later the two met at Appomattox Court House, and

arranged terms of surrender. Lee's army had melted away. Only a few more than 25,000 of his once magnificent force remained to lay down arms on April 9. Grant's terms were generous, as Lincoln wanted them to be. The Confederate soldiers were to retire quietly and peaceably to their homes. The men should take their horses, because, said Grant, "They will need them for the spring plowing and farm work." General Lee in a simple and manly manner bade his men farewell. "Men," he said, "we have fought through the war together. I have done my best for you. My heart is too full to say more."

Assassination of Lincoln, April 14, 1865. — Friday, April 14, was a day of happiness in the North and of mourning in the South. The day was the fourth anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter. The war was over. The South had failed to establish a separate republic. The United States was reunited in name, at least, if not yet in heart. The President and Mrs. Lincoln went to the theatre with a small party of friends. During the play, a half-crazed actor, Booth by name, shot the President. In the morning Lincoln died. The country's rejoicing was turned to the deepest mourning. The death of the generous leader, in whose heart was no bitterness against the South, was the greatest disaster of the Civil War. The divided nation needed his services to guide it through the problems of reconstruction. Once, to those who were planning revenge and persecution, Lincoln had gently said, "Judge not that ye be not judged."

The Cost of the Civil War. — No one knows what the Civil War cost the American people. Nearly a million of the strongest men in the North and South lost their lives. Hundreds of thousands of men labored for four years, not to produce things which the world needed, but to kill or capture one another. Much of the wealth which the southern people had accumulated was swept away, and they and their children were obliged to start anew as they had in colonial days. The American people are still paying debts which the war caused. Billions of dollars have already

been spent. It would have been far cheaper to have paid the owners of the slaves the whole value of their laborers, twice over.

After all, it was not a matter of money. The southerners believed that it was a struggle for existence, for rights inherited from their fathers, especially for the right to govern themselves. The people of the North felt that saving the Union was still more important. They came to look upon slavery as the great stumbling-block to a better national life. There seemed to be no court of final appeal except war.

Questions

1. In what ways was the North growing stronger? The South growing weaker? How did organizations like the Sanitary Commission help the armies in the field?

2. What victories did the United States win around Chattanooga? Why were these as important as the capture of Vicksburg?

3. Whom did Lincoln put in command of the Union army in 1864? What was the new commander's plan for 1864? Why could Grant afford to fight when he lost more men in battle than Lee?

4. Why did Sheridan devastate the Shenandoah Valley? What was Sherman's part in the campaign of 1864? Of what advantage was the railroad and telegraph to Sherman?

5. What important port did Farragut capture? Why was its loss a great disaster to the South?

6. What was the object of Sherman's march from Atlanta to the Sea? How did he then proceed to draw the net upon Lee? Why did Lee finally give up? What terms did he obtain from Grant?

7. How was the rejoicing of the North at the end of the war turned into mourning?

8. What did the Civil War cost the country?

Exercises

1. Find on a map of Eastern Tennessee the places mentioned in the paragraph on "Another Gate to the Cotton States."

2. Locate the railroad over which Sherman obtained his supplies in the campaign against Atlanta.

3. Why was the South defeated in its attempt to form a republic?

Important Dates:

April 9, 1865. The surrender of Lee.
April 14, 1865. The assassination of Lincoln.

CHAPTER XXXVI

PEACE AND ITS PROBLEMS

Return of the Soldiers. — The soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies were sent to their homes as rapidly as possible. Over a million men in 1865 gave up the life of camps, marches, and battles, and began to work on farms or plantations, in shops, factories, or offices. The southern

The Ruins of Charleston

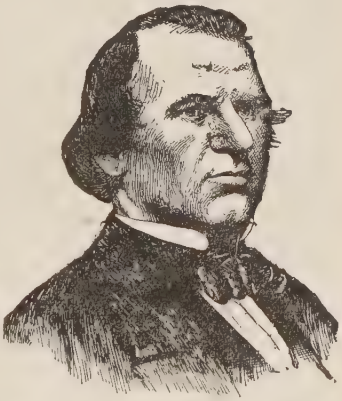
soldier made his way home, commonly on foot. He found the farm grown up to weeds, the fences down, wagons gone or fallen into pieces. Cities like Richmond and Atlanta were in ruins. Business was at a standstill. The outlook was discouraging.

The return of the northern soldier was altogether different. His cause was successful. His states had seen little or nothing of hostile armies. Farms had been extended, new mills had been built, and thousands of immigrants had helped to keep industry active.

The South's Hardest Question. — When peace came the southerners were obliged to rebuild what had been torn down

or burned during the war. But this was not their greatest difficulty. They had to find laborers. The negroes were still among them, but no longer as slaves. The rich planter who once owned a thousand slaves could not order the negroes to work for him any more than could his neighbor who had never owned one.

Another difficulty nearly as great was, How should the states which had declared their independence, or, in other words, had seceded, be treated after the Confederate armies had surrendered? Both matters should have been settled by the wisest men of North and South, men like Lincoln, with malice toward none. He, better than other northern leaders, understood the South and the problem of peace. He was ready to answer all questions in the spirit of fairness and charity.



Andrew Johnson

A New Leader. — The death of President Lincoln raised the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, to the Presidency at one of the most difficult times in the history of the United States. Johnson had been a poor boy. He had had scarcely any education, but he had energy and ability, and soon became a leader in Tennessee. The politicans chose him as Vice-President in 1864, because he could win a few southern votes for the party. None of them expected that he would become President. He was rugged, narrow-minded, and quarrelsome.

The leaders of the Union party in Congress were little, if any, better fitted than Johnson for the new tasks. Thaddeus Stevens in the House and Charles Sumner in the Senate believed that the southern people intended to rebel again or restore slavery.

The Freedmen. — The negroes had not learned the meaning of freedom, when it was suddenly given to them. The story is told that William Lloyd Garrison visited a camp of freedmen near Charleston. "Well, my friends," he said, "you are free at last; let us give three cheers for freedom!" When he tried to lead the cheering the negroes stood in dead silence. To some freedom meant the right to be idle the rest of their lives. A great many thought that it meant a division of the old plantations among them. They frequently asked, "When is the land to be divided?" They heard rumors that the government would soon give each one forty acres of land and a mule.

Those who crowded to the towns and camps that were established by the army, or who roved about the country, suffered terribly from poverty and disease. The consequence was that as many negroes died within two years after their emancipation as there were northern soldiers who lost their lives in the whole Civil War.

Frederick Douglas, one of their own race, who had escaped from slavery and educated himself, said of the freedman in 1865, "He was free from the old plantation, but he had nothing but the dusty road under his feet. He was free from the old quarter that once gave him shelter, but a slave to the rains of summer and to the frosts of winter. He . . . was turned loose, naked, hungry, and destitute to the open sky." There were 4,000,000 of these people in 1865, more than whites and blacks together in the entire nation in 1783.

In his Emancipation Proclamation President Lincoln had freed only the slaves living in the states under the control of the Confederacy. Maryland and Missouri voluntarily freed their slaves in 1864 and 1865. By the end of 1865 slavery remained lawful only in Kentucky and Delaware, and even here it had nearly disappeared. Finally, in December, 1865, an amendment was added to the national Constitution forever forbidding slavery anywhere in the United States.[1]

[1] Three years later the Fourteenth Amendment gave the freedmen all privileges of citizenship except that of voting.

The Freedmen's Bureau. — The leaders in Congress did not believe that the southerners would treat their former slaves fairly, and established the Freedmen's Bureau to watch over the negroes, distribute relief, and establish schools. The purpose of the Bureau was excellent, but many of its agents taught the negroes that the southerners meant to oppress them. The result was that the two races, which needed to be friendly, were driven farther apart. Besides, the fact that the government distributed supplies convinced the freedmen that they were not obliged to work, and led multitudes to leave the plantations in the midst of the summer of 1865, making the situation worse.

The Plantation System breaks down. — The planters, without either slaves or free laborers on whom to depend, and without money to hire them, were "land-poor" after the Civil War. Some sold the plantations for what they could get, a fourth or a tenth of the former value, and made a living in some other manner. Whether the planters sold the plantations or not, the land was divided into small farms, and rented on shares to white tenants or negroes.

The poorer farmers had a better chance to make a living after the plantations were broken up. They did not suffer from competition with planters owning vast amounts of rich land and controlling large gangs of slaves. Better methods of cultivation were introduced, so that by 1870 they were raising 50 pounds more of cotton on an acre than the planters had raised under slavery. The building of new railroads helped them to market their crops, as the railroads had helped the small farmers in the Northwest.

Reorganizing the Southern State Governments. — As the Civil War drew to a close, President Lincoln had prepared to make the way easy for the reorganization of the seceded states and for their re-admission to the Union. "Forgive and forget" was his rule in such matters. President Johnson adopted Lincoln's plan and took steps in the summer of 1865 to reorganize the governments of the southern states and to hold elections for Congress almost as if there had been no war.

Johnson blundered in dealing with Congress and in trying to induce it to carry out his plan. Men like Stevens and Sumner distrusted the leaders in the Confederacy and wished to keep them from gaining control of their governments. On the other hand, the southern people made some mistakes. The leaders were defiant toward the North. They advocated harsh and unfair laws in order to make the negroes work. Their mistakes and the blunders of Johnson combined to drive the moderate men in Congress over to the side of Stevens and Sumner. Congress, instead of following Lincoln's plan of generosity and charity toward the Confederate States, adopted Stevens's plan in which vengeance and distrust were the main motives.

Stevens's Vengeance and Sumner's Ideal. — In 1867 ten southern states were divided into five military districts. Tennessee escaped, because it had already made terms with Congress and had been re-admitted into the Union. Army officers ruled the districts as though the war was still going on. Many of the southern leaders were deprived of their right to vote in the elections, while their former slaves were given the privilege. Finally, when the states had forbidden slavery, had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and had adopted negro suffrage, they were allowed to reënter the Union. From 1867 to 1870 the states fulfilled the hard conditions. This satisfied Thaddeus Stevens, who detested the southern whites, and Charles Sumner, who wished to give the negroes the privilege of voting.

Congress and the President. — President Johnson opposed the Congressional treatment of the South. He vetoed every important measure which Congress passed, and denounced its leaders in words more vigorous than polite. Congress then passed each measure over his veto. Feeling became so bitter that Congress turned from its work of keeping the South dependent upon the North to make sure that the President was dependent on Congress. In 1868 some of his more violent enemies accused him before the Senate of "high crimes and misdemeanors." Had he been convicted, he

would have been removed from the Presidency. It was fortunately impossible to obtain the necessary two-thirds' vote for conviction. Before Johnson's term expired, in 1869, Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted a year later, giving the negroes the same privileges in voting which the white people had. Up to that time only six northern states had allowed the negroes to vote.

Slaves become Rulers. — In South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the new voters outnumbered the white voters. In Georgia the two were about equal. For several years the cotton states were ruled by the former slaves.

"Carpet-Baggers." — Many northern men were attracted to the South after the Civil War by the cheapness of the land or by the chance of being chosen to office by the votes of the freedmen. The southern people called them "carpet-baggers" because they arrived with little more than a carpet-bag or satchel, in which their belongings were packed. They were men of all kinds, some honest, others dishonest, some noble-minded, others rascals. The carpet-baggers and the negroes held the offices and governed the states as completely as if the former rulers of the South had vanished.[1]

Carpet-Bag Government. — The new rulers knew almost nothing about governing a country, and least of all one in the ruined condition of the South after the war. The members of the legislatures voted themselves large salaries. They ordered at public expense fine clothes, laces, perfumes, expensive wines and cigars, jewelry and furniture, horses and carriages. As one said, they believed that the state should take care of its statesmen. There were even worse things than extravagance and misuse of state money. Men bought justice and favors like merchandise. The debts of the states were increased four, five, six, or seven-fold, under such ignorant and corrupt rulers.

[1] A few southern white men joined with the negroes and carpet-baggers. Such men were held in great contempt by their white neighbors, and were called "scalawags."

Ku Klux Klan. — As the United States troops kept the southern people from openly resisting their "carpet-bag" government, the southern people formed secret societies, named the Ku Klux Klan, Pale Faces, White Brotherhood, and the like. Whatever the name, the objects were the same: to keep lawless negroes from stealing and other crimes, to frighten them from voting and holding offices, and to drive carpet-baggers out of the country. Some of the disguises which the members of these societies wore were terrifying. Their faces were masked, and they were shrouded in white. Even their horses were covered with long white gowns. The members rode around the negro cabins in the dead of night. Lawless men frequently made use of the same disguise to commit robbery and murder. In the North it was generally believed that all these secret societies of the South were organized to terrify, rob, and murder the negroes.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Southerners again rule the South. — The rule of the carpet-baggers lasted in some parts of the South until 1877. As long as Federal soldiers were kept in the southern states the carpet-baggers remained in control. They had persuaded the freedmen that the Republican party had freed them, and that the Democratic party wished to place them back in slavery. Most of the negroes, therefore, voted the Republican ticket. General Grant, who was President from 1869 to 1877, thought that the soldiers should not be withdrawn. But Rutherford B. Hayes, who was chosen President in the election of 1876 withdrew the army as soon as he was inaugurated. The southern people quickly drove the remaining carpet-baggers from power and took complete control themselves. From that time the votes of the freedmen, if

they took the trouble to vote, have had little influence upon the government of the southern states.

The End of an Era. — By 1876 the work of restoring the southern states to their full rights in the Union was almost completed. It was also just a hundred years since the Declaration of Independence. The year was therefore chosen as a good time to review what the country had learned how to do. A great fair, called the Centennial Exposition, was held in Philadelphia. Nearly every state took some part in it. The South showed the progress that it was making

MAIN BUILDING AT PHILADELPHIA EXPOSITION, 1876

with free labor. The farms, mining towns, and ranches of the West displayed their work. Manufacturers vied with one another in showing their wares and explaining the methods of making them. New inventions were exhibited, such as the airbrake, the typewriter, and the telephone.

Foreign nations also took part in the Exposition. The products of the skilled workers of almost all countries were placed beside the wares of American workmen. They included woolens, china, steel from England and Germany, laces and silks from France, rugs and tapestries from Turkey and Persia, carvings in wood and ivory from India, China, and Japan. The art exhibits of Europe aroused new interest in art among Americans. The school methods of the old world, especially the work in the kindergarten and in manual training, taught American schoolmen how to improve their own system of education.

All the displays of the Exposition were housed in great buildings constructed for them. Millions of people, many of whom had never traveled, visited the Exposition and saw the work of the whole world spread out before them. They gained a better idea not only of what had been accomplished but also of the improvements still to be made. So the Centennial Exposition marked the end of one era and the beginning of another.

Questions

1. What conditions did the southern soldiers find on returning home? The northern soldiers?

2. What hard questions did the country have to meet at the close of the war? Why was Lincoln's death a great misfortune to the South?

3. Were the freedmen prepared to use their freedom wisely? How did they come to suffer greatly? What was the object of the Freedmen's Bureau? What was the result?

4. What became of the plantation system? Who profited most from the change?

5. What influenced Sumner and Stevens in reorganizing the southern states after the Civil War? What did the states do which aroused the northern leaders?

6. What terms of admission into the Union did Congress require of the former Confederate states? Why did President Johnson and Congress quarrel? What did Congress try to do with him?

7. What privilege did the Fifteenth Amendment give the negroes? Who were the carpet-baggers? How did the new rulers of the South manage the government of the states?

8. What was the Ku Klux Klan? How long did the rule of the carpet-baggers and freedmen last? What effect had President Hayes's removal of the army?

Exercises

1. Wherever possible, learn from a soldier of the Civil War what changes he found on returning home after the war.

2. In what ways did the Centennial Exposition benefit the Unit States?

Important Dates:

1862. Congress begins the policy of giving free homesteads to pioneers in the West.

1867. Congress fixes the terms of re-admission of southern states into the Union.

1876. The Centennial Exposition is held in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXXVII

NEIGHBORS AND RIVALS

"Alabama" Claims. — The war had left other unsettled questions. The most important grew out of the fact that the British government had permitted ships to be built in British shipyards and sold to the Confederates. The damage done by these ships, especially by the *Alabama*, amounted to millions of dollars. The dispute might easily have led to war, because there were many Englishmen who wished to fight rather than acknowledge that they were wrong. There were Americans, too, like Charles Sumner, possessed by the wild idea that England might be compelled to pay $200,000,000 and give up Canada, on the ground that her sympathy for the South had prolonged the war and had caused the United States great loss and suffering. Fortunately, both countries had statesmen with common sense and common honesty. The English Prime Minister, William E. Gladstone, and the American Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, agreed to leave the settlement of the dispute to five arbitrators. England and the United States each chose one, and Brazil, Italy, and Switzerland also chose one each. In 1872 they decided that England had injured the United States to the amount of $15,500,000 through the destruction of ships. The decision was unpopular in England, but the English government paid the money promptly. The way in which the dispute was ended set a noble example to the world of a method better than war for settling such questions.

Question of Mexico. — The United States had a question to settle with France, the ruler of which was Napoleon III, a nephew of the great Napoleon. Europeans had many claims against the Mexican government, some of them like those which Americans has had before their war with Mexico.

England and Spain decided in 1861 to join France in forcing the Mexicans to pay. Soon, however, England and Spain discovered that the Emperor Napoleon had other plans in mind and they refused to have anything further to do with the enterprise. The fact was that Napoleon meant to set up an empire in Mexico strong enough to check the spread of English-speaking peoples in North America. He also thought that a canal should be dug through the Isthmus of Panama, making a waterway as important as the Bosphorus, which flows between Europe and Asia.

Napoleon chose a time for carrying out his dreams when the United States was too busy with the Civil War to interfere. He sent thousands of soldiers to Mexico and spent millions of money. In 1864 he set up Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, as Emperor of Mexico. The United States had protested against his conduct, but in vain. When the Civil War closed and the United States had several hundred thousand veteran soldiers under arms and ready for action, the Emperor Napoleon wisely listened to the protests and withdrew his troops, leaving the unfortunate Maximilian to his fate. Two years later Maximilian was captured by the Mexican republicans and shot, on the ground that he had ordered republican prisoners shot as rebels. The action of the United States showed that the Monroe Doctrine had not been forgotten.

Purchase of Alaska. — In 1861, two years before President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Alexander II, Czar of Russia, proclaimed that the Russian peasants should be freed. They were not slaves like the southern negroes, but their labor was owned by the nobles who possessed the lands on which they lived. They were serfs, like the English and French peasants in the Middle Ages. By this act of 1861 Alexander also won the name of "Emancipator." It was natural that he should sympathize with the United States during the Civil War. The North felt grateful for this Russian sympathy, especially as there was danger of war with England and France.

127
122
117
112
107
102
50
45
40
35
30
25
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH
Lake Manitoba
OREGON COUNTRY
By discovery and exploration and by Treaty with Great Britain
1846
Puget Sound
Astoria
Portland
Columbia R.
Spokane
Salmon R.
Snake R.
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
Big Horn R.
Powder R.
Bis
LOUIS
Sacramento R.
San Francisco
San Joaquin R.
Salt Lake City
Green R.
Grand R.
Platte
Denver
MEXICAN CESSION
1848
Arkansas
Santa Fe
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Rio Grande
TEXAS CESSION
1850
Pecos R.
TEX
GADSDEN PURCHASE FROM MEXICO
1853
ANNEXA
184
MEXICO
Rio Grande
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ASIA
Behring Str.
Yukon R.
Norton Sound
ALASKA
1867
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Petty R.
BERING SEA
PRIBILOF IS.
Bristol Bay
PENINSULA
BARANOF I.
SITKA
ALEUTIAN IS.
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400
180 Longitude 170 West 160 from 150 Greenwich 140
102 Longi

B. D. Servoss, Eng'r, N. Y.

After the Civil War was over the Russian government unexpectedly offered to sell Alaska. Secretary Seward, a member of Lincoln's cabinet who had been retained by President Johnson, received the proposal and arranged a treaty or purchase. Americans at that time supposed that Alaska was a frozen region, its inhabitants Esquimaux, and "its chief products polar bears and glaciers." Congress was in the midst of its quarrel with Johnson and unwilling to carry out any plan proposed by his administration. Sumner believed that Seward's bargain was a good one and his influence in the Senate was strong. Besides, many Congressmen remembered Russia's friendship and wished to show proper appreciation. The treaty was therefore accepted in April, 1867. The new territory was twice as large as Texas, and as large as the original thirteen states together. The cost was $7,200,000, which the natural wealth of Alaska, unknown at that time, has many times repaid, though its resources in gold, coal, fish, and agricultural products have barely been touched.

THE HOME OF THE FUR SEAL

A United Canada. — The talk about the seizure or conquest of Canada, which was common in the United States after the Civil War, alarmed the Canadians and they resolved to strengthen themselves by union. In 1867 there were six British colonies in North America: Canada, divided into two provinces, — Quebec and Ontario, — Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and, far away on the Pacific Coast, British Columbia. Between the East and the West were three great natural basins, the Hudson Bay country, the Winnipeg region, and the Mackenzie River Valley, all unsettled. A great convention of

delegates met in Quebec and drew up a plan of union. The meeting recalls to mind the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in 1787. In 1867 the new union was put into effect under the name, Dominion of Canada. This was like the English system of government, although in some ways it resembled that of the United States. The Dominion had a parliament instead of a congress, and instead of a president a prime minister who must be satisfactory to the majority in parliament.

Only four of the provinces united in 1867. Four years later British Columbia, and shortly afterward Prince Edward Island, were admitted, much as the United States permits new states to enter the Union. Newfoundland, alone of the old colonies, remained outside of Canada. The government of Canada had a vast western territory out of which to make other states in later years. The growth of the Canadian Northwest is a part of the westward movement in American history.

A Greater Britain. — The constitution which the Canadians drew up was agreed to by the British parliament. A governor-general was sent to represent Great Britain in Canada, but he was not to interfere with the right of the Canadians to govern themselves. They paid no taxes to the mother country and even charged import duties upon British products brought into the Dominion. All this was very different from the bitter dispute a century before between the British parliament and the colonies on the Atlantic shore. A new idea had taken possession of the leaders of Great Britain. They now thought that the Englishman who chose to live beyond the seas in Canada, South Africa, Australia, or any other country, should enjoy the same rights he would have at home. The expenses of the Empire, which troubled the men of 1765 so much, were paid from taxes collected in Great Britain, unless the colonies offered to bear a share.

The change in views of the English leaders was mainly due to the adoption by parliament of new " reform " bills. These extended the reforms in government begun by the " Great

THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND MEXICO

Alaska and its islands, if laid down on the United States, would touch the Atlantic Ocean on the southeast, Canada on the north, and the Pacific Ocean on the west

Reform" bill of 1832, until almost every man in the land possessed the right to vote. Representation in parliament was also more fairly distributed. The government remained a monarchy, that is, a king or queen reigned, but it really became a democracy or government by the people.

In parliament there is still a House of Lords, but the chief law-making body is the House of Commons. Its members

are elected by the people. The ministers, or cabinet, are chosen from the party that sends the most members to the House, and the leader is called the Prime Minister. He is actual ruler of the country as long as he can obtain more votes in the House for his measures than his opponents control. The monarch is obliged to follow his advice. Consequently the votes of the people through the votes of their members in parliament govern the government. This is what we mean by democracy.

The consequences of democratic government in Great Britain have been many improvements of the old laws: protecting the workmen in the factories against accident, shortening the hours of labor, especially of women and children, and making it easier to purchase farms. In such ways the British government was becoming wiser and more just, while its empire was becoming greater in extent.

Civil War in Germany. — While the United States was torn by a terrible struggle between the North and the South, a civil war of another kind raged in Germany. The states into which the Germans were grouped were almost as independent as if they had been separate countries. The principal ones were Prussia, Bavaria, and Austria. Altogether there were 38 states, 11 of them large. Their union was called a confederation. Their wars with one another were caused by attempts of the two greatest states, Prussia and Austria, to strengthen the confederation and take the lead in its affairs. One short war occurred in 1864 and another in 1866. Prussia seized the kingdom of Hanover, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and several smaller states, adding these to her own territory. Austria was no longer allowed any part in the affairs of Germany. All the northern states were formed into a North German Confederation. Four years later, during a war with France, the South German states entered the Confederation, which now became the German Empire with the King of Prussia as Emperor.

In 1848 the revolutionists had dreamed of an empire which would rest upon the free consent of all the German peoples.

This new Empire was far different — it was built on military force. Bismarck, the minister of the Prussian King, once said that "iron and blood," rather than fine speeches, were the surest means of getting what the Prussians wanted. The first act of the new Empire was to tear from France, which had been badly defeated in the war, two border lands, Alsace and a part of Lorraine.

France a Republic. — The Emperor, Napoleon III, had been partly responsible for the war with Germany. He was taken prisoner at Sedan in September, 1870. As soon as the news reached Paris a republic was proclaimed. One of the first tasks of the new government, when the war was ended, was to raise the money with which to pay the indemnity of one billion dollars demanded by the Germans. The next duty was to agree upon a constitution, for many Frenchmen wished to recall to the throne a descendant of their ancient kings, but a majority of the people were in favor of ruling themselves with a president as their chief magistrate. The constitution which they adopted was more nearly like that of England than that of the United States, for they have a prime minister, whose power is greater than that of the president.

United Italy. — The same years saw a union of all the Italian states under Victor Emmanuel as king. Until 1859 Italy, like Germany, had been divided into several kingdoms or principalities. The northeastern part of the country, including the beautiful city of Venice, was ruled by the Emperor of Austria. For more than half a century the Italians had been dreaming of an Italy which should be united and should manage its own affairs. The dream, like so many others, could be realized only after many battles, but 1871, which saw a united German Empire, also saw a united Kingdom of Italy.

Austria-Hungary. — Austria, which was driven out of Italy and Germany, learned lessons from defeat and, prepared to live on better terms with Hungary, united with it under the rule of Francis Joseph. For many years the Empire of Austria had tried to manage the Kingdom of Hungary.

Now the leaders of both nations made an ingenious arrangement by which they might be united toward all the world but independent toward each other.

But there were other peoples within Austria-Hungary whose rights were forgotten. These were the Czechs in Bohemia, the Slovaks in northern Hungary, and the Jugo-Slavs who lived in the southern lands of the Dual Monarchy.

Questions

1. What were the *Alabama* Claims? How were they settled?
2. What excuse had France for sending an army into Mexico? What plan had the Emperor of France formed? How was the question settled?
3. How did Alexander II of Russia obtain the name of Emancipator? How did the United States come to possess Alaska?
4. Why did the Canadian provinces form the Union or Dominion of Canada? Describe the government of Canada. What provinces formed the Union? Which one has never joined the Union?
5. What is England's new way of treating her colonies? Does she require them to pay taxes? What changes have been made in the British government?
6. What caused the Civil War in Germany? What was the result?
7. What change in government took place in France? In what way is the government of France more like that of England than that of the United States?
8. What did the Italians do about the same time? What arrangement did Austria and Hungary make?
9. Which were the great united nations in 1876?
10. What people in Austria-Hungary were not given the same rights as the Austrians and Hungarians?

Exercises

1. Prepare a list of great questions which the United States and Great Britain have peaceably settled. Tell how each was settled.
2. Compare England's treatment of the thirteen American colonies in 1765–1775 with that of the Canadian provinces in 1867.
3. Prepare a list of the countries in which a struggle for "union" occurred.
4. Review the change in government in England in 1832. See page 289.

Important Date:

1872. England and the United States settle the dispute over the *Alabama* Claims by arbitration.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

NEW LEADERS AND NEW PROBLEMS

The Presidents from 1869 to 1897. — For many years after the close of the Civil War the presidents were of the Republican party. Not until 1885 did a Democratic president enter the White House. In this chapter we shall consider the questions the presidents had to deal with as far as 1897, when President Cleveland's second administration came to an end and President McKinley was inaugurated.

The fact that the Republicans were in power so long did not mean that there were no political struggles. In one instance the struggle was so bitter that a section of the party broke away and nominated a candidate of its own. This nearly brought the Democrats into office. It happened in 1872, after General Grant had been president only three years.

General Grant had been chosen because the people of the North felt that next to Lincoln he had done most to save the Union. He was a great general, but he was without experience either in political affairs or in the business of government. Moreover, he was not always fortunate in his selection of officers to help him. Only one, Hamilton Fish, by the settlement of the dispute with Great Britain about the Alabama Claims, accomplished anything really popular.

There were also questions left over from war time which divided the Republican party. One of these was about the tariff on imports. Some thought that such taxes, which had been made high in order to pay the expenses of the war, should now be lowered. Others said that they should be kept high as a protection to American manufacturers against foreigners who were always trying to undersell them.

The Republicans were also divided upon the advisability of keeping Federal soldiers in the South. Many of them thought that the southern people should be allowed to manage their own affairs.

The consequence was that many discontented Republicans opposed Grant's renomination in 1872. When the Republican convention made him their candidate these men formed what they called the Liberal Republican party and nominated for the presidency Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*. The Democrats also made Greeley their candidate, but Grant was elected by a large majority.

A Contested Election. — The election of 1876 was even more exciting than that of 1872. The Republicans nominated General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and the Democrats, Samuel J. Tilden, a distinguished lawyer of New York. The results of the voting were very close. In three southern states both parties claimed the victory. As the election turned on the votes of these states, Congress was obliged to appoint a special commission to find out to which side the votes belonged. It was decided that General Hayes had been elected.

A New Problem for the Presidents. — At the beginning of the administration of Hayes one problem was settled. The President withdrew the soldiers from the southern states, as has already been explained. The other problem was that of filling the many offices of the government with competent men. When President Hayes tried to apply the merit system to appointments in the post office of New York City he angered some Republican politicians who had been accustomed to have such positions filled by their friends.

Two harmful ideas about government, dating from Jackson's time, still prevailed. One was that any citizen was capable of holding office. The other was that the victorious political party might put out of office all its opponents and fill their places with its own members. The party leaders regarded offices as " spoils " which belonged to the victors in elections. The result was that every new president changed

all the office-holders under him down to clerks and errand boys. The task of dividing offices as rewards and favors among friends and party workers kept the best public officers busy when other things needed attention. Lincoln, besieged by office-seekers at the opening of the Civil War, declared that he seemed "like one sitting in a palace, assigning apartments to importunate applicants, while the structure is on fire and likely soon to perish in ashes." Matters had not improved since his day.

James A. Garfield

Civil Service Reform. — A remedy for dishonesty and mismanagement was urged. Part of the officials were elected, but the larger number were appointed by the president. This was true also of the states and the cities in which the governors and the mayors had the appointing power. It seemed clear that those officials who were appointed should be chosen solely because they were capable of doing their work well. The reformers argued that their fitness could be determined best by an examination in which all candidates were asked the same questions. This new method of selecting men went by the name of "civil service reform," or the "merit system." Several men, among them Congressman Thomas Jenckes of Rhode Island, George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and Senator Carl Schurz of Missouri, worked many years for the reform. Grant favored their plan and urged it in his messages. But Congress did not wish to lose the influence that the old system of appointment gave it, and little progress was made in Grant's time. His successor, President Hayes, and the next President, James A. Garfield, were also anxious to bring about the change.

In 1881, a few months after Garfield became President, a disappointed office-seeker assassinated him. This event showed one danger of the spoils system. It moved the people, and, finally, Congress to action. In 1883, a long step was taken by giving to three Civil Service Commissioners the duty of holding examinations to test the fitness of candidates for certain offices. The plan applied chiefly to clerkships in Washington, but it has been slowly extended.

See-saw in Government

R stands for Republicans; *D* for Democrats. The top line in each case indicates the party in power. Only twice in the period were the members of one party uppermost in all three branches of the government at the same time, and then only for two years each.

Nearly every President since 1883 has increased the number of government officials who must pass an examination. More than two thirds of the positions under the United States Government were by 1912 filled in this way. The successful candidates are expected to hold the office permanently, or until they are promoted. In 1910 President Taft urged that the "merit system" be extended to all postmasterships and to all offices in the diplomatic and consular service. Seven years later President Wilson adopted the reform for the postmasterships, putting about 10,000 postmasters under civil service rules. The same plan has been slowly applied

in filling state and city offices. New York was the first state to adopt it, making the change in the same year that the national government began it; Philadelphia was the first city to introduce it.

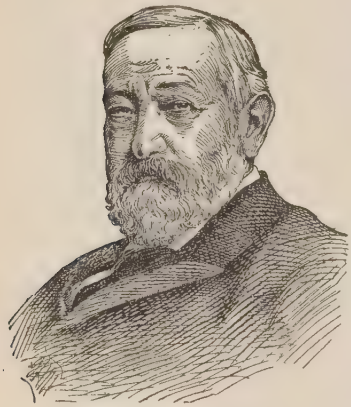
A Divided Government. — One reason why not only President Hayes but also several of his successors were unable to carry out the reforms they planned was the control of one of the two houses of Congress by the opposite party. During the first two years of his presidency the Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives. No law could be passed which was not acceptable to them. During the last two years of the administration they controlled both House and Senate. Only twice in the two decades from 1877 to 1897 did the leaders of the party which elected the President control Congress also. In each case this was for but two years.

GROVER CLEVELAND

Grover Cleveland. — President Garfield had been assassinated in 1881. He was succeeded by the Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur. The next election, which occurred in 1884, turned on the character of the candidates rather than upon the tariff or Civil Service Reform. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland and the Republicans James G. Blaine. Cleveland had been mayor of Buffalo and governor of New York. In these offices he showed that the interests of the people were of greater importance to him than mere political success. He managed public business "as a good business man manages his private concerns." These qualities won him the votes of many Republicans who distrusted the Republican candidate. The regular Republicans called such independent voters "Mugwumps," an Indian name

for " chief," as if the independents thought themselves better and bigger than ordinary men. Cleveland was elected and the country had a Democratic President for the first time since Buchanan.

The Republicans had a majority in the Senate, and so a Democratic House and President could accomplish little. In spite of this division of power one memorable law was agreed upon. This was the Interstate Commerce Act. It provided for a commission of five members which should see that the railroads carrying goods from one state to another treated all shippers fairly. The powers of the commission were enlarged in later years.



Benjamin Harrison

Benjamin Harrison. — Toward the close of his administration Cleveland urged that the high tariff be reduced. He believed that such taxes should be levied for revenue only. This was nearly what the Liberal Republicans had sought in 1872. The Republicans still urged the value of the tariff as a protection to American industries. That was the issue in the election of 1888. The Republican candidate was Benjamin Harrison, grandson of President William Henry Harrison. The Republicans not only elected their candidate but gained a majority in both houses of Congress.

The Republican leaders used the opportunity to make the tariff still higher, to enlarge the navy, and to increase pensions to veterans of the Civil War. As the new tariff seemed to result in high prices the voters turned against the party, and during the second half of Harrison's administration the House of Representatives was Democratic. In the election of 1892 the Democrats made a clean sweep, reëlecting Cleve-

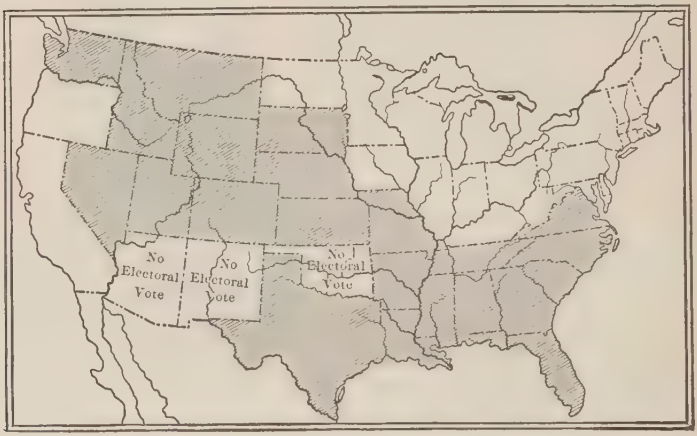
land and obtaining a majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Return of Cleveland. — For the first time in American History an ex-President was called upon to return to the White House. Throughout Cleveland's second term as throughout Grant's, the President and his associates had to struggle against a panic. It began in 1893. Banks failed, factories closed. It was a period of hard times for nearly everybody. The poor people, unable to find work, suffered the most. The chief cause of the panic was the haste of manufacturers in building factories and mills before a market was found for their output. As a result they soon found themselves loaded down with products they could not sell at the price it had cost them to make them. When they were obliged to sell them below cost their business went into bankruptcy. But there were other causes. The general extravagance and waste of public and private resources was one. Besides the system of money which the country used also seemed to need a thorough overhauling.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Whether the tariff should remain high as the Republicans declared or be lowered as Cleveland urged remained one of the issues. Another was whether all the silver brought to the government mint should be coined into silver dollars at the rate of 16 silver dollars to 1 gold dollar. Cleveland's followers were divided upon these questions. In fact the Republicans were also far from united. In general the voters of the eastern states were more interested in a high tariff; those of the western states in the use of silver money. The hardest contest over such questions came in the election of 1896.

An Interesting Presidential Election. — As the Democrats decided to support the larger use of silver as a form of money cheaper than gold Cleveland could not continue as the leader of the party. He had taken sides with those in the East who favored gold. William J. Bryan of Nebraska had distinguished himself as an advocate of silver, and the Democrats named him as their candidate for President. The Republicans proposed William McKinley who was their foremost champion of high tariffs. The candidate of the



How the Country was divided in the Election of 1896

The shaded states were carried by Mr. Bryan, showing, in general, the region of agricultural discontent

Democrats wished to make silver the main issue, the Republican candidate laid stress on the tariff.

In the main the campaign seemed to be a contest between East and West. The silver miners, who desired a larger market for their products, naturally supported Bryan. The farmers of the Prairie West who had recently bought their farms were still in debt. They saw that the use of silver, a cheaper money as the measure of value, would mean higher prices for their crops, and so the easier payment of their debts. They rallied strongly to the support of Bryan, whom they called the " Boy Orator."

In the East, McKinley was favored by those who had lent money or had other investments, because they wanted to be paid in gold which did not change in value as much as silver. He was also favored by those who believed in high tariffs. The owners of the new factories — "infant industries" they were called — feared that without the barrier of high tariffs their business would be ruined by cheaper goods made by the "pauper" laborers of Europe. The workmen in the eastern cities generally voted with them out of a fear that silver money and low tariffs would close the factories. Their recent experience with closed factories during the panic made this seem a real danger.

The silver Republicans of the West bolted the party; the gold Democrats of the East did the same. Each group voted for other candidates of its own choice. When the election came the old South favored Bryan; the old North McKinley; but the new West which had grown up on the plains since the Civil War, the Mountain states and the Pacific coast were divided, though mainly for Bryan. The country as a whole decided in favor of McKinley.

The election resulted not only in the choice of a President but in the important decision that gold, as in Europe, rather than silver, should be the basis of the American monetary system. Before studying the new problems which arose in President McKinley's time we should know other changes which had taken place since the Civil War. What new methods of travel and work had been invented? What new settlements had been made to expand the Union? What new immigrants had joined the American people? These questions and others about the growth of the United States from the time of Lincoln to that of McKinley need now to be answered.

Questions

1. What questions divided the Republican party in 1872? Who were the candidates for President in the election?

2. How was the contested election between Hayes and Tilden decided?

3. What harmful ideas about government prevailed long after Jackson's time? What did President Lincoln think of the spoils system?

4. What remedy for dishonesty and mismanagement in government was urged? Who were the leaders in the movement for Civil Service Reform? What was the effect of the assassination of President Garfield on Civil Service Reform? Describe the Act of 1883. Has the "Merit System" been extended since 1883?

5. What made it hard for any of the Presidents from 1877 to 1897 to carry out any reforms planned? When during the period were the members of one party uppermost in all three branches at the same time?

6. Why was Cleveland selected as the candidate of his party for President? Who were the "mugwumps"? What memorable law was passed during Cleveland's first term?

7. On what issue did the Republicans elect Harrison? What caused the panic in 1893?

8. What were the issues in the contest between Bryan and McKinley in 1896? How did different sections vote? Why?

Exercises

1. Find out whether the federal, state, and town offices of the locality are filled by the Merit System or by the Spoils System.

2. Prepare a table like that on page 416 for the last 12 years of your state to determine whether the Governors, Senates and Houses of Representatives were of the same party all the time.

Important Dates:

1883. Congress passes the Civil Service Reform Act.
1887. Congress passes the Interstate Commerce Act.
1896. The Free Silver Campaign with William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan as Republican and Democratic candidates.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE PRAIRIE STATES

The Pacific Railroads. — During the Civil War, when Congress was anxious to keep the Pacific coast loyal to the United States, it voted to aid several companies in the construction of railroads from the Mississippi Valley to the coast. Two companies began building, the Central Pacific from Sacramento eastward, and the Union Pacific from Omaha westward. The government gave these roads twenty sections of land, or 12,800 acres, for every mile of road, and besides lent them money. A race was started to see which could build the most before they met.[1]

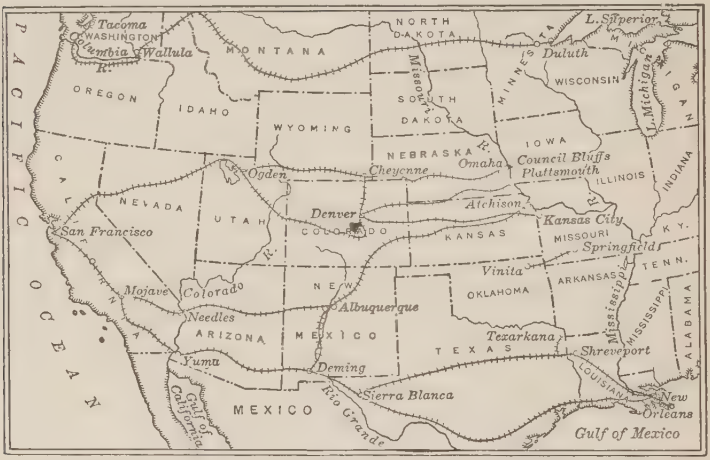
The Union Pacific had the advantage at first. Its line west of Omaha followed the Oregon Trail through a country so flat that little grading was necessary. More than half of the workmen were veterans of the Civil War. The Central Pacific advanced more slowly across the Sierra Nevada range, but it made up in speed when it reached the great desert basin. Thousands of Chinese laborers were brought into the United States for this work. The two lines met in 1869 on the shores of Salt Lake near Ogden.

The Pacific railroad was a great undertaking. The iron for the western part had to be carried by steamboats from the East around Cape Horn or by way of Panama. For the eastern part wood and iron and other materials were taken up the Missouri River in steamboats or across western Iowa to Omaha by "prairie schooners." The eastern railroads

[1] The United States gave the railroad companies that built the first railroad system connecting the Missouri River with the Pacific coast 33,000,000 acres of land, an area much larger than the state of Pennsylvania. It gave to the companies which built the western railroads enough land to make five states like Pennsylvania, or a country larger than France or Germany.

had not yet reached Omaha. The great works of the past, like the National Road, the Erie Canal, and the Pennsylvania Portage Railway, seemed small beside this road. Except for the small Mormon town of Ogden, no settlements had been made between Omaha and Sacramento, nearly 1800 miles. The little settlements at Denver, Salt Lake, and Carson were off the route chosen.

The earlier railroads had commonly been built to carry goods to the pioneers or to carry their products to the markets. The new roads crossed regions as yet uninhabited.



THE PRINCIPAL RAILROADS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1884

Like the rivers of the Atlantic coast or of the Mississippi Valley they guided the work of settlement. The immigrants scattered on either side, adding village to village until the slender band reached across the continent. In this way the Pacific coast and the Mississippi Valley were bound together as never before.

Panic of 1873. — Other railroads were begun while the work on the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific was being completed. Indeed, as many miles of road were built in the four years ending in 1871 as existed in the whole country shortly before the Civil War. Men, in imagination, saw

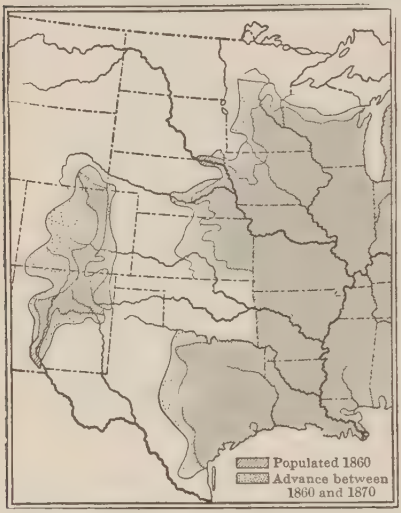
towns springing up everywhere. They borrowed recklessly to pay for rails, engines, and cars, or to buy town sites and lay them out. The consequence was a panic as bad as the panic of 1837. The country was only beginning to recover from it when the Centennial Exposition was held. For some time railroad building almost stopped. During these years the settlement of the West went on more slowly.

The Indian Question. — The Indians watched the advance of the settlers with angry feelings. Many of them remembered that ever since white men had landed on the Atlantic coast the Indian had been forced to give up one hunting ground after another. As in the colonial days, the settlers on the frontier were often attacked. The government sent soldiers to punish the hostile tribes, especially the Sioux and the Apaches. Several little wars took place. In a campaign against the Sioux in Montana, led by their chief, Sitting Bull, General George Custer, a young cavalry officer who had distinguished himself in the Civil War, and 264 of his troopers were suddenly surrounded and all of them killed. Only Custer's horse, Comanche, and a half-breed scout escaped. This was the last important Indian War. By 1877 most of the Indians were placed on reservations, either in the neighborhood of their old hunting grounds or in the great Indian Territory south of Kansas.

Sitting Bull

New Settlements. — With the building of railroads a constantly increasing stream of settlers poured into the states and territories beyond the Mississippi. Part of them were from older states and part from Europe. In the year 1883 alone, more than 750,000 immigrants entered the United

States, chiefly from Great Britain and Germany. There also came thousands of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes. Many of these immigrants settled in Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. Unlike the settlers farther east, those who chose lands on the prairies found no forests to supply them with building material, and were obliged for a time to live in sod-houses or dug-outs. Corn or grass was often their only fuel.

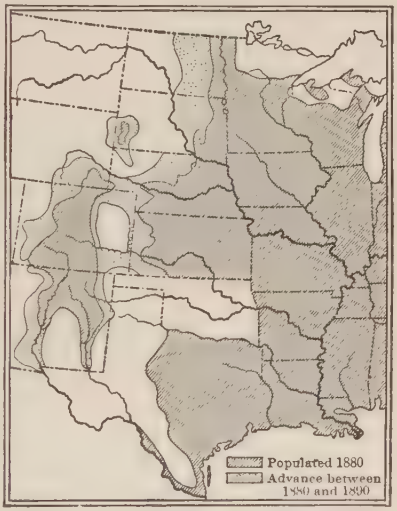


THE ADVANCE OF POPULATION IN THE WEST, 1860–1870

The Ranches. — The earliest settlers on the plains depended chiefly on their herds of cattle. The frontiersman in America, whether on the eastern slopes of the first colonial mountain barrier or in the Mississippi Valley, raised many cattle. The vacant lands in the neighborhood gave him free pasture for his herds. This was especially true on the great plains. Nature had made it a nation's pasture land.

Many eastern men established vast ranches on the plains west of the farming settlements. These were mostly on the borderland, where the prairie ends and the mountains begin, a region too dry for ordinary farming. Cowboys in strange western dress, many of them Mexicans, tended great herds of long-horned cattle. Cowboys and steers took the place of the roving Indians and the wild buffaloes. The immense herds of buffaloes disappeared, slaughtered by wasteful, pleasure-seeking hunters. No fences were needed on the ranches. The cowboys lived with the herds, riding fleet bronchos and sleeping in the open air, much as did the Arabs of old.

It was a common thing for one ranch to possess five, ten, or twenty thousand head of cattle, which fed over a region equal to a half dozen western counties. A few cowboys were able to take entire care of them. Branding the calves with the mark of the ranch, so that they would be known, fighting cattle thieves, and driving the fattened stock to the distant railroads once a year, formed the chief occupations of the ranchmen. Grass, browned and cured on the ground, was the winter's food for the cattle. A deep valley, where little snow fell, formed the only shelter.



THE ADVANCE OF POPULATION IN THE WEST, 1880–1890

The cattle raised on the ranches at slight cost were carried or driven to Omaha and Kansas City. At first they were forwarded to St. Louis or Chicago. By 1862 Chicago had become the center of the meat-packing business, as Cincinnati had been in the preceding period. Chicago has always kept the lead in the business, although Omaha and Kansas City have gradually gained a large share in it. From 1860 to 1880 the value of the business increased from $30,000,000 to $300,000,000. Meat was sent all over the country in refrigerator cars. After 1876 great quantities were prepared for sale in Europe. The refrigerator cars took the meat to an eastern port, where it was packed in refrigerating rooms on steamships.

From 1870 to 1890 farmers gradually took up the open lands. Within ten or twenty years the free prairies for grazing disappeared and the great ranches were crowded out.

Many small herds of better breeds of short-horned cattle replaced the large herds. Farmers, rather than cowboys, kept them on the grazing grounds and guarded them. Great barns were built to shelter them in winter, and stores of fodder were prepared for the winter's food.

By 1890 the free fertile lands of the West were nearly all occupied. No longer could men leave shops or eastern farms when wages were low and take up free farms. The immigrant from Europe had little chance to become a landowner at almost no expense, as he had been doing since the founding of Jamestown.

The colonists had taken one hundred and fifty years to occupy the lands from the Atlantic Ocean to the first mountain barrier, a region about two hundred miles wide. But the later pioneers swept over the West, which was more than five times as wide, in twenty years. The difference was due in part to the railroads which helped the modern pioneers to reach the western lands and to create cities almost over night. It seemed as though the West possessed Aladdin's magic lamp.

For a while the new towns and country districts were almost without government. Ruffians took refuge in the frontier towns, and in the ranches and the mining camps in the mountain districts farther west. They made a "Wild West" of the region. Showmen now like to travel over the country exhibiting the ways of such rough western towns. These days of lawlessness and danger, which have always been a characteristic of the American frontier, lasted only a short time. Neat frame houses took the place of the sod-houses and the dug-outs, and thrifty stores came in where gambling dens had thriven. Orderly town, county, and state governments were modeled after those in the older states of the Mississippi Valley. Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado had by entering the Union extended the states to the Rocky Mountains. California and Oregon had long stood as sentinels of the Union in the West. In 1889 and 1890 the frontier governments of North and South Dakota, of Mon-

tana, Wyoming, Idaho, and Washington became of age and took their place beside their sister states. They completed a solid double tier of states across the northern part of the United States. In 1896 Utah, first settled by the Mormons, became a state, and so filled in the space between Colorado and Nevada.

What the Pioneers did. — The earliest settlers on the prairie farms escaped some of the hardships of the other frontiersmen. They did not have the drudgery of felling

A Cattle Ranch in 1880

huge forests or digging drains in swamps. They never suffered from malaria and ague as the pioneers did elsewhere. But they had other troubles instead. Some years the green crops dried up in the fields before harvest time for the want of enough rain. Many men gave up the hard struggle and returned to the eastern states. Those who stayed finally learned to plant crops that needed less rain and to cultivate the land in such a way as to make the best use of all the water in the soil. As they grew more skillful in dry farming they pushed to the very edge of the desert-like plains lying near the Rocky Mountains. Such pioneers taught others, and now failure occurs no oftener there than in other parts

of the United States. The conquerors of America are the sturdy pioneers who have stayed on the frontiers until nature yielded to their will.

Wheat for the World. — Farming large tracts of land was easier on the plains than elsewhere. The prairies were level, unbroken, and extensive. Railroads were at hand to carry large crops to the cities, where the increasing population needed more food. For such reasons some men have established mammoth farms, especially wheat fields. Often these cover 10,000 or 20,000 acres. On them, powerful traction engines or an army of teams draw great machines — combined plows, seed-drills, and harrows — for planting, with reapers and threshers for harvesting.

Great farms of this kind are the exception. Moderate sized farms of 160 or 320 acres are the rule. Everywhere the farmers use the newer farm machinery. They prepare the soil by riding plows and cultivators, put in the seed by the use of planters and drills, and harvest with self-binders. Steam threshing machines complete the work.

Mills and Elevators. — The other work of the middle and farther West is done on an equally large scale. Monster grain elevators were built at railroad centers or lake ports like Kansas City, Omaha, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Chicago, and Buffalo. In Minneapolis, especially, great flour mills began to grind thousands of barrels of flour a day. The small mills, driven by water power, which formerly dotted wheat growing regions, gradually fell into ruins. The sale of wheat to Europeans increased rapidly. It was ten times as great in 1880 as in 1860.

Questions

1 In what ways did the United States help to build the first Pacific railroads? Why was building the Pacific railroads a difficult undertaking? What effect had the western railroads on settlement?

2. What caused the panic of 1873? What effect had the panic on the settlement of the West?

3. What attitude did the Indians take toward the settlement of the prairies? How did the United States treat the Indians?

4. Who settled the states west of the Mississippi? How did the pioneers on the prairies live?

5. Describe the cattle ranches of the frontier. Where were the cattle marketed? What change finally took place in the cattle country?

6. Why was the prairie region more rapidly settled than the Atlantic coast?

7. What new states were formed in the West?

8. What did the western farmers produce? How did the farmers do their work? What industry grew up in the wheat-growing region?

Exercises

1. Name and locate the chief Pacific railroads.

2. Compare the methods of farming in colonial days with those in the western states to-day. See pages 99–100.

3. How did the settlers reach the frontier in colonial days? How in the days of the settlement of the western prairies?

Important Dates:

1869. Completion of the first Pacific railroad.

1890. By this date the free lands useful for farming, without irrigation, were mostly gone, thus ending the era of colonization within the United States.

Sod-House of a Pioneer on the Prairies

CHAPTER XL

NEW METHODS OF WORKING

The New Factory System. — The early factories took from the household and the small shop such industries as spinning, weaving, and forging. As the use of machinery increased and new inventions were made, other household industries — the making of butter and cheese, the preserving or canning of fruits and vegetables, the curing, and even the cooking of meats — were moved in part to the factory.

Factories also increased in size, as water power was used less and steam more. Many factories originally located near swift-running streams were abandoned. If the water power was abundant, they were enlarged, but steam was often used as well as water power.

The towns of New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which first began weaving silk, cotton, and woolen goods, or tanning leather, and making these products into clothing, shoes, and gloves, still continue in the same industries. Their factories are commonly run by steam or electricity. They must often send to a distance for fuel as well as for materials like cotton, wool, and hides. In spite of these disadvantages they are able to continue in the same business because they have made a reputation for good workmanship and have a body of trained men and women in their factories.

Since the Civil War, factories have slowly migrated wherever fuel, materials, and skilled workers are found near together. For this reason cotton mills are rising in the South, woolen mills and shoe factories in the middle West. It is still true that the western people raise most of the food and produce most of the materials used in manufacturing, while the eastern people make most of the finished articles.

The Uses made of Electricity. — Marvelous things have been accomplished in the same period in the use of electricity. In 1866, after many efforts, a telegraph cable was laid through the Atlantic Ocean to Europe. Several years later an inventor improved Morse's telegraph so that two messages could be sent in opposite directions over the same line at one time. Soon four messages could be sent at once.

Alexander Graham Bell, a teacher of the deaf, while studying the human ear, thought of a plan of "talking by telegraph." In 1876, after years of work, he exhibited a suc-

Scene in a Knitting Mill

cessful instrument at the Centennial in Philadelphia. This was the telephone. Men called him "a crank who says he can talk through a wire," but by 1890 his invention was in common use.

The Dynamo. — Inventors in England and other European countries, and also in the United States, working at the same time, found out how to make electricity on a large scale and cheaply. The machine invented for this purpose was called a dynamo. Though first made about 1866, it did not come into ordinary use in the United States until after 1880. The dynamo is commonly driven by a steam or gasoline engine or by a water wheel. The electricity which it makes can be carried a long distance by means of wires. Other inventors

discovered many uses for the electricity which the dynamo produces. Some learned how to use the current to run machinery. This is done by means of a motor.

In 1878 Charles F. Brush invented the arc light for streets and parks, while Thomas A. Edison, in the following year, made an electric light for houses. In the meantime, a German in Berlin, Dr. Siemens, had constructed a street railway car run by an electric motor. All these inventions worked great changes in the cities. Street cars, which had at first been drawn by horses, were soon moved by electricity. A line in Baltimore and another in Richmond in 1885 were the first in the United States to make the change. By 1895 few horse cars were left in the United States. This change within the cities from 1885 to 1895 was followed by the building of electric railways from town to town. Such lines, bringing the town and country within easy reach of each other, made country life pleasanter and helped the towns and cities to obtain food from the neighboring farms and to carry on trade with one another. Several of the older railroads have begun to use electric instead of steam locomotives.

The most wonderful use for electricity was yet to come. Scientific men had long known that electricity travels through space without the necessity of following a wire, like waves on the surface of the water. In 1896 Marconi, an Italian electrician, invented an instrument for telegraphing without wires. The method was rapidly improved until messages could be sent across the Atlantic Ocean and from ship to ship in mid-ocean. The wireless telegraph, invented in Europe, was almost at once adopted in the United States.

Within a few years after the invention of the dynamo, the motor, and the electric light, many private companies went into the business of making electric current and selling it for lighting and for running machinery. Some electric plants use coal for fuel, but others depend on water power. In 1902 great machines were built to use a part of the water of Niagara River above the Falls. The electric current is carried on wires to Buffalo, 22 miles away, and even to cities

much farther off. In these it is used to light streets and buildings, run factories, and move street cars. Rivers are made to do work which would require thousands of horses. The nineteenth century was the age of steam, but the twentieth century is becoming the age of electricity.

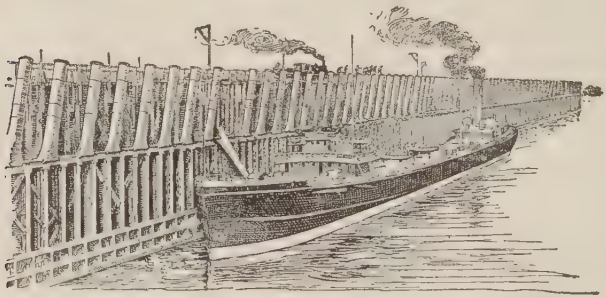
Steel. — The need of a material stronger and more durable than iron led to the invention of steel. In 1856 Henry Bessemer, an Englishman, discovered a cheap method — since called the Bessemer method — of converting ordinary iron into steel. Bessemer's method, as well as other new methods, was introduced into the United States. By 1890 the Americans equaled, if they did not surpass, other nations in making iron and steel. Steel was soon used for finer grades of tools and delicate surgical instruments. Steamships were built of it, and were made larger as the builders learned to use the new materials. The modern steamship framed with steel beams and covered with sheets of steel is capable of carrying two or three thousand passengers and many car-loads of freight across the Atlantic in five or six days. The huge buildings called "sky-scrapers" are steel-framed. The parts of such structures are made in a mill, ready to be put together. Since the introduction of steel the railroads have been entirely rebuilt at great cost. The rails of the track, many of the bridges, even many of the cars, are made of steel.

A Modern "Sky-Scraper"

Woolworth Building, New York; the tallest building in the world. This has a steel frame

How Iron is obtained. — Great improvements have also taken place in mining ore, in carrying it to the mills, and in

manufacturing iron. Formerly most of the iron ore came from Pennsylvania, but now three-fourths come from the mountain ranges about Lake Superior. Much is also mined in Alabama. In Michigan and Minnesota powerful steam shovels load the soft iron ore upon railway cars. Railroads take it to lake ports and dump it into great bins, high above the water-level. Chutes lead the ore into the holds of steel steamboats five or six hundred feet long, and capable of carrying five or six thousand tons at once. These great carriers take the ore to ports chiefly on the south shore of lakes Erie and Michigan, near where it is wanted. Huge unloading machines operated by steam or electricity lift the ore from



Loading Iron Ore on a Boat on Lake Superior

the boats to railroad cars in which it goes to the iron mills. At every step it is handled by machinery, and the human hand need not touch it or do more than direct the machines which perform the work.

In order to separate the iron in the ore from other materials, iron ore, coke, and limestone are poured by iron buckets into a blast furnace, and a running stream of liquid iron comes out and is cast into what is called pig iron. The pig iron is then made into cast iron, wrought iron, or into some kind of steel. Machines pull the steel into rods and wire, or roll it into bars and sheets. These in turn are made into tools, machinery, and building material.

In 1876 iron was chiefly manufactured in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh. After the ore was obtained principally from

the Northwest, other cities became rivals of Pittsburgh. Steel mills must be located where they can bring their coal and iron ore together cheaply and at places from which the finished articles can be forwarded to the best markets. For this reason many steel mills have been built along the south shore of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, with Cleveland and Chicago as the centers.

New Uses for Iron and Steel. — Inventions have never been made so fast as since the Civil War. Man has seemed determined to find machines for all his work. Some were borrowed from Europeans, others were invented by Americans, some are merely improvements of older inventions, others introduce entirely new methods of work. Many old tools like the blacksmith's hammer and the wood-worker's chisel and the laborer's shovel were enlarged and driven by steam or electricity. These great hammers, lathes, and steam shovels are able to do the work of scores of men working in the old manner. Saws and planes and chisels which cut stone and iron as easily as wood have come into use. Machines have been built for cutting coal in mines, digging ditches, and laying railroad tracks.

Unloading Iron Ore

Other machines make wire, tacks, bolts, screws, nails, and pins. One of them takes thin wire, cuts it into short lengths, puts a head on the pieces, sharpens these at the other end, and sticks them into papers — a paper of pins ready for the market.

The machinery for making paper and for printing newspapers and books is still more remarkable. Paper was

formerly made entirely from cotton and linen rags. The demand for a cheaper paper led to the discovery of a new method of manufacturing it. Soft poplar, pine, or spruce logs are ground into a pulp, dried, and rolled into sheets. The modern printing-press prints, folds, and even counts the finished newspapers at the rate of 20,000 an hour. With another ingenious machine, called the linotype, or "line-o'-type," a printer can set a line of type almost as easily as one can write the words with a typewriter.

A Bessemer Converter of Iron into Steel

A list of the new machines would be very long. None are more remarkable than the cash registers and calculating machines which add, subtract, multiply, and divide, or the phonographs, stereopticons, and moving-picture machines.

Gas and Petroleum. — Gas made from coal had long been used in American towns for lighting houses and streets. Natural gas obtained, like petroleum, from deep wells came into common use about 1872. Pipe lines were built, through which the gas could be carried to the large cities, sometimes 150 or 200 miles away. Gas from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Indiana helped the cities to build up manufactures, for it was a cheap fuel. The more recent discovery of natural gas in southeastern Kansas and eastern Oklahoma has started a new manufacturing center.

The uses of petroleum have been multiplied. Raw petro-

leum is used for fuel in many steamships, and also in locomotives, especially in California. The kerosene lamp was invented during the Civil War, and the gasoline stove soon afterwards. The principal use of gasoline is in a new form of engine. About the time of the Philadelphia Centennial the first successful gas-engine was constructed in Europe. The explosion of a mixture of gas and air drove a piston which in turn moved the wheels. Scores of inventors had been working on the idea for more than a century. The new engine proved popular. It had several advantages over the steam-engine; it was, first of all, simpler to run and lighter in weight. The gas could be made from alcohol as well as gasoline.

A Wright Aëroplane

The Automobile, 1886. — About ten years after the invention of the gas-engine and while engine-builders were perfecting it, other inventors found new uses for the machine. The gas-engine was used to run carriages and wagons first in Europe, thus producing the automobile. The manufacturers of every country quickly adopted this ingenious idea, and improved upon the original cars. Workmen and inventors of every country rivaled one another in efforts to produce the best. The gas-engine is also rapidly being used to drive farm machinery. Goods which men once carried to market on their backs, and which later oxen or horses hauled, steam, gas, or electric cars now take more swiftly and more cheaply.

The Aëroplane. — For centuries scientists dreamed of an invention by which man could travel through the air like a bird in flight. Balloons were made in the eighteenth century, but they, like the sailing vessel, were at the mercy of every wind. European inventors were quick to apply the

light gas-engine to the balloon, changing its shape so that it would be more manageable. The lightness of the gas-engine made possible what seems the most marvelous invention of all. In 1905 the Wright Brothers, after patient trials, made a successful aëroplane or flying-machine.

Expositions. — Several times since the Centennial Exposition other expositions have been held, which gave the people opportunities to see what rapid progress was being made, not only by Americans but also by all nations. The World's Fair or Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 was intended partly to celebrate the 400th anniversary of

Court of Honor, Columbian Exposition

the discovery of America. Eleven years later an exposition at St. Louis commemorated the 100th anniversary of the purchase of Louisiana, and the following year one at Portland, Oregon, commemorated the expedition of Lewis and Clark to the mouth of the Columbia River.

"Big Business" or Trusts. — The methods of managing business and manufacturing have changed almost as much as the methods of work. The men engaged in the railroad business were the first to begin the change. It did not seem necessary that passengers or freight, going from New York to Boston, or from New York to Buffalo, or from Philadelphia to Chicago, should be carried over half a dozen short railroad lines, one ending where another began. Successful managers, like "Commodore" Vanderbilt, sought to unite

the roads running in the same direction or through the same district. This had been begun before the Civil War, but it was pushed forward more rapidly afterward, until the railroads of the country were united into several enormous systems, which spread over the United States like huge nets.

Other business men followed the example of the railroad managers. They reached out from the city where they worked and purchased similar factories in other cities. Often they did not buy these rival factories, but formed with their owners various kinds of agreements which have been commonly called "trusts." The competition or rivalry of many men or groups of men trying to sell the same thing formerly kept prices down. When the great railroad systems controlled the freight business of a region, or when the "trusts" made all or nearly all of one kind of goods, they were free to fix prices as they pleased. The formers of the trusts claimed that their purpose was to introduce more economical methods of conducting business. They made such enormous fortunes, however, by the new method that the benefits seemed to the people to be all on the side of the railroads and trusts. The people differ greatly as to how the government should meet this new question. The formation of trusts has been especially successful in such trades as iron, steel, tobacco, petroleum, meat, sugar, cotton, and leather.

Cities known for Special Things. — As a result of the growth of manufacturing, certain cities became noted for producing a particular article. For example, Troy, New York, became known for collars and cuffs; Baltimore for canning oysters; Gloverville, New York, for gloves; Philadelphia for carpets; Bridgeport and Waterbury, Connecticut, for brassware. In some towns nearly all the workmen are engaged in a single occupation. In South Omaha they are occupied with meat packing; in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, with iron and steel; in East Liverpool, Ohio, with pottery; in Fall River, Massachusetts, with cotton goods; and in Brockton, Massachusetts, with boots and shoes. Some places profited more than others by the new methods of

manufacture. The South is being entirely changed through their introduction.

Questions

1. What household industries have recently been moved to the factory? What changes have occurred in the old factories? Why can an eastern factory located a long way from the materials which it needs remain prosperous? What changes in the location of factories are noticeable since the Civil War?

2. What new use has been found for the telegraph? What improvement has been made in it?

3. Who invented the telephone? What did people think of it at first?

4. How is electricity now made? When did the dynamo come into use in the United States? What uses have been found for the electric current produced by the dynamo? What is the motor? When was the first electric railway system introduced into the United States?

5. Who invented the wireless telegraph?

6. Describe one new way of making steel. Mention new uses for steel.

7. Describe the process of obtaining iron ore, shipping it, handling it, and making it into various kinds of iron. Where is the iron obtained? Where is it manufactured into iron, steel, tools, and machinery?

8. What tools and machines have recently been invented? How is each used? How is cheaper paper now made? How is type now set?

9. When did natural gas come into use? How did its discovery affect the work of the regions where it was found?

10. What uses have been found for petroleum? What is the principal use for gasoline? Describe the gas-engine.

11. What change has taken place in the management of railroads and factories? What is a "trust"? Name some of the more successful ones.

12. What cities are famous for some special kind of manufacturing?

Exercises

1. Write a paper on the changes which have taken place in the work of the household. See pages 101–104, 215–217, 259–262.

2. Visit some local factory, telephone system, electric light or power plant, or street railway system, and write a paper about its history.

3. Draw a map of the township showing the telephone lines, electric light and power lines, interurban car lines, and give the dates of construction of each.

4. What changes have taken place in the method of heating American houses? See pages 98-99, 329.

CHAPTER XLI

THE NEW SOUTH

Southern Farmer. — As the plantation system broke down, the planters generally moved into the cities. Some had the courage to start anew in another business. Their sons became the business men, the lawyers, and the physicians of the community. The plantations were divided into small farms, and either sold or rented to the freedmen or to farmers who before the war had been too poor to own slaves. These white men with small farms found cotton growing profitable for the first time. They were no longer obliged to compete with the owners of large plantations using gangs of slaves. As they prospered they rented or purchased more land. They also bought the newly invented machines, cotton-seed planters and stalk cutters. They now raise about half the cotton, the other half being raised by the negroes. The southern cotton crop is three-fourths of all the cotton raised in the world.

HARVESTING ALFALFA IN VIRGINIA

Renewing the Land. — For a long time the southern farmer had trouble with the soil. Much of the land was worn out because crops had been raised from it without any attempt to preserve its richness by the use of fertilizers. Fortunately, great beds of phosphate rocks were discovered in South Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee. These rocks were ground up and made into a valuable fertilizer, which was

scattered over the fields. The farmers also learned how to rotate their crops, so that the soil was rapidly improved.

The consequence has been that land once regarded as worthless has again come into use. Farmers who had gone to the West to obtain fresh land began to return to the old homesteads. The cotton growers were not the only ones who profited by the new way of enriching the soil. All kinds of farming were improved by it. Innumerable truck gardens and fruit farms were started. The Atlantic coast from Maryland to Florida has almost no winter. Five or six crops of vegetables may be grown on the same soil during a single season. The South has, therefore, become the garden where

Harvesting Rice in Louisiana

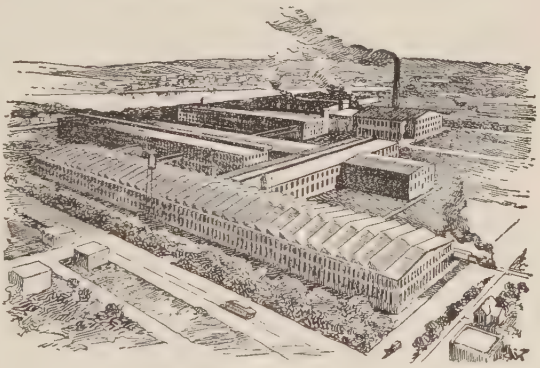
the early fruits and vegetables of the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains are raised.

Rice Farming in the Southwest. — Rice was formerly grown only on lowlands which were flooded by the overflow of the rivers at certain times in the year. Recently the farmers of the Southwest, in Louisiana and Texas, have learned to drain the lowlands, and then to irrigate the fields by pumping water over them, in order to grow rice. They have in this way become independent of floods and do not fear drought. They use drills, harvesters, and steam threshers similar to those on the wheat farms of the Northwest.

Utilizing the Treasures Underground. — In this period southerners learned that the oil, gas, coal, and iron fields of the Appalachian Mountains, first discovered in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, extended into the South as far as the

mountains ran. A little later they found that the coal, oil, and gas fields of Missouri and Kansas also extended through Oklahoma into Texas.

The people of northern Alabama had long known that there was plenty of red iron ore in the neighborhood. On the old plantations they had used it as a dye-stuff. "Dye-dirt" they called it. The Indians had used it before them. After the Civil War a geologist explored the region and reported that there was a mountain of this ore twenty-five miles long. A railroad was built to the place. In the same region a coal field larger in area than the entire state of Massachusetts was discovered. An abundance of limestone, used in making iron, was also found near by. Nature had thus marked northern Alabama as a center for iron manufacture. In 1871 a town was founded in the heart of the new region and named Birmingham, after the great English manufacturing city. The Alabama village has now become a great city with all kinds of manufactures. Other cities like Chattanooga and Knoxville, in eastern Tennessee, have also become iron manufacturing centers.



A Southern Cotton Mill

Cotton Mills. — Midway between the regions where cotton is grown and coal is mined, mills for the manufacture of cotton cloth have recently been built. It was cheaper to haul the coal down the mountains than to carry the cotton all the way to the coal. Therefore at such points as Charlotte, Columbia, and Atlanta cotton mills have been built. In 1876 the South manufactured scarcely any cotton goods,

or anything else. Now it produces about one half of the cotton manufactures of the United States. South Carolina, once a poor state, with no other wealth than its plantations or farms, now has not only better farms but ranks second among the states in the products of its cotton mills.

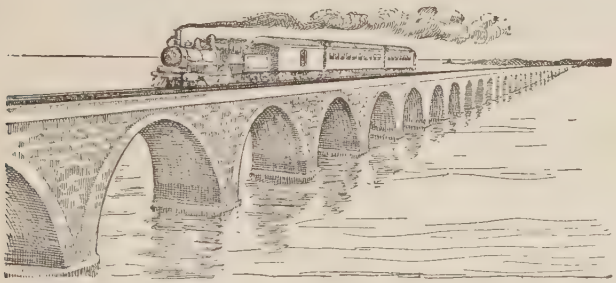
Other Manufactures. — One thing led to another. Enterprising men established mills to make oil and meal out of the seed of the cotton, which had formerly been wasted. The cultivation of peanuts and their preparation for the market has become an important industry in Virginia and North Carolina. Cotton-seed oil and peanut oil have many uses similar to the olive oil of Europe and California. It is one of the marvels of nature that the seed of the cotton shrub and of the peanut vine produce an oil like that of the olive.

The Appalachian Mountains are covered with valuable forests. Some of the largest logging camps and most modern saw-mills in the world have been recently established to make use of them. Factories for making furniture have also been built in the timber region. In 1892 High Point in North Carolina was a village unknown beyond the bounds of its own county. It is now, next to Grand Rapids in Michigan, the greatest center of furniture making in the United States; and other southern cities are close to it. These factories, mills, and shops at the South are using the same machines that are used in the North. Steam shovels scoop up the iron ore from the surface around Birmingham. Electric and pneumatic machines cut the coal loose in the coal mines.

Water Power. — The southern towns have begun to utilize water power to make electricity for lighting and for running machinery. No other part of the United States is better situated for such purposes. The swift-flowing rivers, falling from the mountains to the plains, to the east, the south, and the west of the Appalachian system, offer many sites suited to manufacturing. And the materials needed — lumber, iron, and cotton — are close by. There is enough water power within 60 miles of Charlotte, North Carolina,

to do the work which would require the labor of millions of men working day and night.

Some Great Works at the South. — The southern people have carried out some enterprises as great as any in modern times. Galveston was orginally built on low ground and was often flooded by high water when storms raged on the Gulf of Mexico. In 1902 the city began a great sea-wall. It has not only finished this, but has raised the level of the entire city from eight to seventeen feet, putting an end to the danger from floods. New Orleans has drained and diked and filled in, until it, too, is safe. Sewerage and drainage have banished malaria, yellow fever, and cholera, which were the



THE FIRST TRAIN OVER THE KEY WEST RAILROAD

scourges of the old South. Florida, since 1906, has been draining the Everglades. When this work is finished an area three times as large as Connecticut will be opened to settlement for small fruit and truck farms. One writer has estimated that if the swamps along the Atlantic coast from New Jersey to Florida were drained, like similar lowlands in Holland, 10,000,000 people might find homes on them. It is in such places that the United States must find part of its future land for settlement.

The Key West Railroad. — Since the Civil War the South has also been building many new railroads. The Florida East Coast railroad has recently finished a line from Miami to Key West. To do this, it was necessary to bridge the sea from islet to islet with great stone arches. The new

railroad, 155 miles long, carries trains to within 90 miles of Havana.

How this Change affects the People. — The change in the work of the South since 1876 is much like that in the North after the War of 1812. The negroes and the poorer white farmers no longer make their sugar, candles, and soap, and spin and weave and dye their own clothing, as they often did for some years after the Civil War. The negroes are not now the skilled laborers — the carpenters, the masons, and the blacksmiths of the South, as in the days of the great slave plantations. The white men from the hill country of the Appalachians are taking over these trades. They are also going into the factories and shops. The old class of poor white people is fast disappearing. Varied work and freedom from competition with slaves have given them the opportunity they needed. Their little cabins are giving way to three-room or four-room houses. Their sons no longer move westward as they did in Lincoln's boyhood, but they find the "promised land" about them in the mines, the forest, the factories, and the new farms. "Captains of big mills" now take the place of the former slave-holders.

Free Schools. — The New South has meant more than making better use of land, forests, mines, and water power. After the Civil War the southern people began earnestly to build up a free public school system. The states had few schools and those mostly private. The population of the South was scattered widely, which made the task of providing for education difficult. The southerners also wished to educate white children and negro children in separate schools. The cost of the schools was, moreover, a heavy burden, because the South was impoverished by the war. Northern men have helped with generous gifts of money. The southern states have elementary and high schools, colleges, universities, agricultural and industrial schools.

Special industrial schools are provided which train the negroes to be farmers, workmen, and the teachers of their own race. The most famous are at Hampton, Virginia, and

Tuskegee, Alabama. Booker T. Washington, who became one of the leaders of the southern negroes, and the head of Tuskegee Institute, said that in 1865 barely three out of one hundred grown negroes could read and write, but that in 1910 seventy could do so.

The New South. — The old southern cities have removed the scars of the great war. In 1865 Richmond had lost 700 houses, but it rose rapidly from its ruins. In 1907 the South held a great fair on the shore of Hampton Roads, near Norfolk, to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement at Jamestown. Every southern state had its own building. In the buildings devoted to industry and agriculture the exhibits showed the progress of the South since the fair at Philadelphia in 1876.

Questions

1. What became of the planter class? Who profited from the breaking down of the plantation system?
2. How was much southern land brought back into cultivation? What changes have taken place in southern farming?
3. What underground treasures have recently been found in the South? For what is Birmingham noted?
4. Why were the cotton mills built at such places as Charlotte, Columbia, and Atlanta? What other manufactures have been established?
5. Why is the South fortunately situated for manufactures?
6. What great works have recently been completed? Are there still any opportunities for settlers in the South?
7. Who are the skilled workers of the South? What changes in work are taking place? What is the South doing for the education of its workers?

Exercises

1. Those who live in the states where slavery and the plantation system existed before the Civil War should find stories to illustrate the changes which have taken place in the South. For example, the story of some old plantation or the history of some factory or mill.
2. Those who live in the North, east of the Rocky Mountains, should find out which food products in the local market are grown in the South. Which of the manufactures are made in the South?

CHAPTER XLII

THE LAST BARRIERS

The Indians become Citizens. — Ever since Jamestown was founded the Indian had been crowded back from one hunting ground to another. His last hunting grounds were called "reservations," and for many years the government kept the white settlers out. Finally, the friends of the Indian concluded that it was better for him to give up his

Waiting on the Frontier of Oklahoma

tribal customs, receive his share of the tribal reservation, and become a citizen. After the last Indian Wars were over, Congress passed a bill giving to each Indian family 160 acres, and permitting the sale of the remainder of the land of the reservations, on the understanding that the money should go to the Indians. The first great reservation to be broken up was Indian Territory, a part of which was bought by the government and opened to ordinary settlers.

Oklahoma. — The part of Indian Territory thrown open was called Oklahoma, or the "Beautiful Land." Thousands of persons were eager to occupy the best sites for towns or the best farming lands. The scene on the border, as the time approached when the territory should be declared open, was very different from what happened during the earlier

settlement of the West. Troops were obliged to keep the land seekers back so that none should gain an unfair advantage. At a signal exactly at mid-day, the waiting crowd began a mad race for the best lands. On foot or on horseback or in wagons, old men and young men, and many women, rushed in to stake out homesteads or town lots. Guthrie was an open field at noon time. At night 10,000 people were encamped there, and the inhabitants had already begun to form a town government. Wherever an Indian reservation was broken up, the same wild scramble for land occurred. Oklahoma grew with wonderful rapidity. In 1907 it was united with Indian Territory and admitted to the Union. Meanwhile the population, which in 1889 was barely

A Town in Oklahoma Two Days after Settlement began

200,000, mostly Indians, increased to more than one and a half million. Oklahoma is now larger in population than several of the original thirteen states. It is little more than twenty years old; they are nearly three hundred years old. Its white population has been drawn chiefly from its neighbors, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas.

Arizona and New Mexico have grown more slowly. They became states in 1912. They filled the last gap in a solid tier of states extending along the southern boundary from Texas to California. The union of thirteen states in 1789 has become a union of forty-eight.

The Call of the Canadian Northwest. — As the fertile lands of the West were filled, land seekers turned to the Canadian Northwest. Farmers and clerks and laborers moved to this, the newest frontier. Canada, like the United States, founded the new provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta

on the great western prairies, and thus bridged over the gap between Ontario and British Columbia. In 1886 the Canadian Pacific Railroad was completed to the Pacific Ocean. Two other great railroad systems tapped various places in the Canadian West — the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk. The Canadians have recently taken a place beside the people of the United States in producing wheat, gold, and silver for other parts of the world. Immigrants from England, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, as well as from the United States, are rapidly making use of its vast prairies, forests, and mines. The climate no longer seems to check the tide of migration toward the Arctic Ocean and Hudson Bay.

Alaska. — In 1896 gold was discovered 2,000 miles up the Yukon River, near the Alaskan boundary. The greater discoveries were on the Canadian side, but discoveries at several places in Alaska caused a rush to the gold fields like that to California in 1849. In a short time the population of Alaska was more than doubled. Within five years Americans took out of Alaska $132,500,000 in gold, nearly twenty times the original cost of the territory. Nor is gold the only thing of value there. It has been estimated that there are forests fit for marketing with an area larger than either the state of Maine or South Carolina; two or three hundred square miles of coal beds, varying from two feet to twenty feet in thickness; farm and grazing lands equal in extent to the combined area of Illinois and Indiana. Even if much of the pioneer work within the United States proper is completed, there is still work for Americans in the great territory in the farthest Northwest.

The people of the Pacific coast have long profited by the Alaskan trade. Cities like Tacoma and Seattle have grown rich and strong from it. Tacoma was a village of 1,100 in 1880, in 1920 it was a city of nearly 97,000. Seattle had 3,500 inhabitants in 1880 and 315,000 in 1920.

Building the Nation on the Pacific Side. — In the days of the Spaniards cattle formed the chief wealth of California.

After the inhabitants recovered from the excitement over the discovery of gold in 1848, wheat took the place of cattle. Grass, gold, and grain were the chief means of gaining wealth in each of three periods. In 1876 California and Oregon were noted for their great fields of wheat. Farm machinery and the railroads made this possible. About 1885 a new industry was begun along the Pacific coast. California, Oregon, and Washington became famous for their fruit farms, and today well-tilled orchards and vineyards cover the land. For a while wheat proved a more profitable crop than gold, but

Picking Oranges in California

fruit is now more profitable than either. The Sacramento Valley in California and the "Spokane Prairie" region in Washington are still given chiefly to wheat growing. Here combined harvesters and threshers enter the fields of standing wheat and when they leave the grain is piled in sacks. In the Pacific Northwest — Oregon and Washington — a few great steam-driven saw-mills with improved machinery do the work that was formerly done by a multitude of small saw-mills built by the sides of streams. The Pacific states have other resources. Multitudes are drawn to them by the mild, sunny climate and beautiful scenery.

The earliest settlers occupied lands on the coast, and in the adjacent valleys. The late comers settled farther east,

and the frontier line moved steadily eastward toward the Cascade Mountains and the desert barriers. Some grazing land and irrigated patches exist along the eastern border of each of the Pacific states, but most of the region still includes vast stretches of undeveloped land.

Mining Camps in the West. — Long after the great discoveries of gold and silver in California, Colorado, and Nevada, these, as well as many other metals, were found elsewhere in the mountain region. Prospectors, pioneers with another name, searched everywhere for minerals. The settlement of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming began in the mining camps.

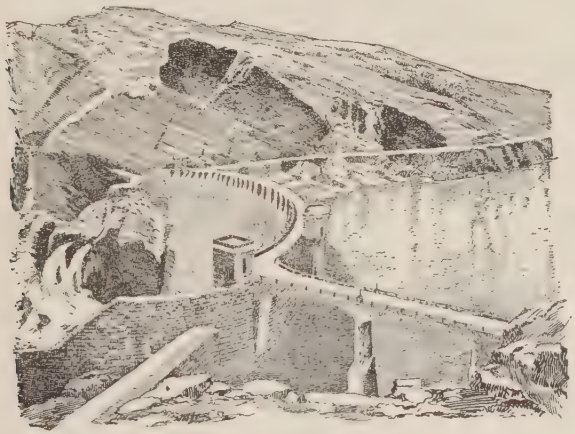
Arid Land before Irrigation

The Same Land after Irrigation

Such camps were wretched villages — a general store, a saloon, and a row of rude one-story huts on a winding street in a mountain valley, usually remote from a railroad and the outside world. They were lonely and desolate when the gold seekers were away, but all excitement if they returned successful. It was a hard life and few men succeeded. Young men made up most of the inhabitants, and they usually left when the first wild gold-fever passed. The fortunate few remained to work in the mines. Some who went to mine stayed to trade and farm. Numberless mining camps be-

came thriving villages and cities. Railroads were built to them. The printing-press, the church, the school, and the library came in time. Then real pioneers took the place of the rough, boisterous prospectors.

Conquering the Last Barrier. — Great progress has been made in overcoming another barrier to settlement in the mountain plateau of the West. Millions of acres of land in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and other states are fit only for grazing unless water is carried to them. In some



THE ROOSEVELT DAM

On Salt River, Arizona, the dam is 284 feet high and 1080 feet long

places farmers dug artesian wells or tapped a mountain stream to obtain water for the fields. States also built canals to convey water. Such work is called irrigation. The Mormons of Utah were the pioneers of the United States in turning a part of the water in the mountain streams toward the farm lands. Since 1902 the United States has been helping the mountain states. Great lakes have been made by damming up rivers. Canals distribute the water thus stored when wanted in the valleys below. The money obtained for the public lands and the water privileges is again put into new irrigation works. The land in small lots is almost

given to the settler. The water is sold to him at cost. Great reservoirs between the mountains are being rapidly formed. The dams are built as solid as the brick and stone work of the Romans.

The mammoth Roosevelt dam, on Salt River in Arizona, supplies water for thousands of farms. Another on the Rio Grande forms a lake forty miles long and from one to ten miles wide. New Mexico alone, which Coronado declared worthless, will soon have an area of irrigated lands equal to the entire states of Delaware and Rhode Island.

An irrigated farm is different from others. The owner controls the supply of water and hastens or delays the planting or ripening of his crop at will. The soil is deep and rich. The endless sunshine and mild climate make every season a harvest season of some kind. The high dams supply water power, making electricity for the towns, the mines, and the farms. All the comforts of the city are found. Men are learning to accomplish the marvel of making the American deserts bring forth bountiful harvests. Writers of geography no longer write the words "the Great American Desert" across the Far West. The government of the United States already looks forward to the time when 20,000,000 people will live on these farms created in the desert.

To make sure of a plentiful supply of water it is necessary to care for the forests which clothe the slopes of the mountains. If they are cut down, the streams will be dry most of the year, while at other times they will rush down, swollen far beyond their banks, and sweep everything before them. For this reason the national government began in 1891 to set apart millions of acres of public forest land, placing the trees under the care of foresters, men who have studied how to protect trees. The foresters also plant new trees where these are needed.

Questions

1 How had the United States dealt with the Indians in the past? What plan was finally adopted? What was done with the land composing the Indian reservations?

2. Why was Oklahoma settled so rapidly? Who formed the main body of settlers in Oklahoma? What two states were formed in 1912? How many states now compose the Union?

3. What progress did the westward movement in Canada make in this period? Who were the settlers?

4. What valuable resources have been discovered in Alaska? What cities have profited from the Alaskan trade?

5. What changes have taken place in California since the days of the Spaniards? What are the main occupations of the people on the Pacific coast?

6. Who were the pioneers in the western mountains? Describe a mining camp.

7. How is the last western barrier to settlement being overcome? Describe an irrigation system.

8. What is the work of the national foresters?

Exercises

1. Compare the ideas of Alaska in 1867 with those held at the present day. See page 407.

2. Review the Spanish settlement of California. See pages 193–194.

3. Why was the settlement of the Pacific coast states really an eastward instead of a westward movement?

4. What two barriers to settlement, finally removed, are discussed in this chapter?

Important Date:

1902. The United States begins building irrigation works in the Far West, and thus opens a new frontier to settlement.

CHAPTER XLIII

LABORERS OF A GREAT NATION

Growth of Cities. — The change in the methods of work led to the rapid growth of cities. The development of great railroad systems had a similar effect. The centers from which they branched out in many directions served as markets from which products of all sorts came to be forwarded to the smaller towns and villages of whole regions. Some of the cities were also ports on lake or sea. These grew with rapidity. From them goods could be carried by steamships the cheapest method, to other ports of the United States or to Europe, South America, Asia, or Africa.

For many years after the Republic was founded, the great majority of the people lived in the country on farms. This is still true in the South and some parts of the West, but with the growth of new methods of work a great change came over the older states. Here a majority of the people now lived in the cities. One-tenth of the entire population of the United States by 1920 dwelt in the cities of New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. About one-fourth lived by the same time in cities with a population of 100,000 or more.

The Newest Immigrants. — The immigrants after the Civil War usually settled in the cities while formerly they settled on farm lands near the frontier. The great demand for laborers in the cities attracted them. Indeed, the rapid growth of manufacturing would have been impossible without the help of newcomers from Europe. Many immigrants also went to the principal mining regions.

The number of immigrants each year increased very rapidly after 1880, and continued at a high rate until 1914. It was more than half a million a year, and some years more than a million. The total population in the United States in 1790 was a little less than four million people.

There came a time when as many people entered the United States every four years. More came in a single year than in the entire period from the founding of Jamestown to the outbreak of the Revolution. Enough immigrants arrived in 1907 to people a state as large as Connecticut or Nebraska.

Immigrants from Eastern Europe. — Before 1880 four-fifths of the immigrants came from the British Isles and northwestern Europe. Then the immigrants from those regions decreased, while others from southern and eastern Europe greatly increased. In 1882 the entrance of Chinese laborers was forbidden; in 1907, by a treaty with Japan, this rule was extended to Japanese laborers. As a result few of either of these races could enter the United States. It was the Italians, Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Magyars, Poles, Bohemians, and Lithuanians who sought work in the United States in the largest numbers. They left homes on the coasts of the Mediterranean and in the valleys of the Danube and the Volga. They were mostly rugged peasants. In their new homes they took a place largely as miners, steel workers, and day laborers about the cities. To them America became as much the Land of Promise as it had been at an earlier period to the Puritan, the Scotch, the Irish, and the Germans.

VILLAGE OF THE REGION FROM WHICH THE LATER IMMIGRANTS CAME

Many of the immigrants came from regions where the ancient Greeks and Romans once lived and where ruins of their great and beautiful buildings still remain. They

all seem to love painting, sculpture, and music. Some of them have become leaders in orchestras and musical societies. Like the Germans and French, the Slavs, the Greeks, and the Italians have helped in spreading the love of music and other arts in the United States.

The Crowded Tenements. — Both the immigrants and the native Americans who moved to the factory districts of the cities were obliged to change their former mode of life. It was necessary for them to settle near the places where they worked, often in crowded, smoky, dismal spots. Cheap

WHERE THE IMMIGRANTS GO TO LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES

The greater number of the foreign-born live in congested quarters in the large cities

tenement houses were built for them. The laborer's place of work was commonly more grimy and cheerless still. In the mines and mills his work was done often amid great dangers from explosions of gases or from unguarded machinery.

Organization of the Laborers. — As the business of manufacturing or managing railroads was gradually organized in great corporations or "trusts," so laborers of all sorts were organized. Small trade societies or unions had been common for many years. When prices rose during the Civil War, the laborers united in order to attempt to raise wages. Besides, the growth of manufactures, bringing together in the same industry, often in the same town, large bodies of

laborers, made the formation of unions easier. The printers, the locomotive engineers, the cigar makers, the bricklayers, and the carpenters were among the first to form large organizations of all workers in the United States. Others rapidly followed their example.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1869, a group of garment cutters in Philadelphia started a plan to unite all laborers into one body without regard to their particular kind of work. A powerful organization, called the Knights of Labor, grew from these small beginnings. A few years later, in 1881, another combination was formed, called the American Federation of Labor. It united as many as possible of the labor unions of the United States and Canada into one body. Joined by a multitude of local city unions, state and national federations, and special organizations, it finally outnumbered the Knights of Labor. In addition to such organizations, the workers in many industries are separately combined in unions, like the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and of Railway Trainmen.

Objects of the Laborers' Unions. — The laborers have united to advance their own interests. This usually means to better their surroundings while working, secure higher wages, and shorten the hours of work. Many of their demands appeared so reasonable that they were supported by other people in the community. Wise railroad managers, manufacturers, and business men generally became eager to improve the situation. The result is that the conditions under which work is done have changed for the better. For example, the hours of work a hundred years ago were from "sunrise to sunset." In the early factories employees worked fourteen or fifteen hours, part of the time by candlelight. About 1840 some trades reduced the hours to ten. In many trades the hours are now eight or nine. The average length of the working day for all is only a little over nine.

Memorable Strikes. — Formerly when the laborers were discontented with the wages or conditions of their work, they

could go to the frontier and take up land. As the public lands gave out, laborers turned more and more to another way of bettering wages and shortening hours. This was by the strike. The men in a single factory or mill or railroad stopped work. Sometimes they were able to induce the workers in other occupations to join them. Since 1877 hundreds of strikes have occurred in the United States every year. Some of them have brought on battles between the laborers and the employers.

In 1877 a railroad reduced the wages of its men. It had done so several times. On this occasion the employees abandoned their trains, and tried to prevent others from running them. The strike spread to other railroads, and soon covered many of the railroads in fourteen states. At several places conflicts occurred between the strikers and the soldiers sent by the state to keep order. Twenty-two were killed in one of these battles. Pittsburgh suffered the most in the destruction of cars, depots, and freight, and in the loss of life. The city barely escaped a terrible fire during the struggle between the angry forces. This was the first great strike in American history.

An even greater strike broke out in June, 1894, in the Pullman Car Company's shops in Chicago. The company had reduced the wages unjustly, as the laborers felt. They had other grievances against the company. For one thing, the Pullman Company was the landlord, owning all the houses of the town in which the laborers lived. The people disliked being both tenants and employees of the same company. The strike which followed was long. The company steadily refused to arbitrate its differences with the men. Efforts were made to boycott all railroads using Pullman cars. The strike spread. The railroad men joined the strikers. The western Knights of Labor also struck, out of sympathy with the Pullman employees. Business almost came to a standstill as far west as the Rocky Mountains. President Cleveland sent United States soldiers to Chicago with orders to stop the interference with the railroads, partly because the

trains carried the mails. Another reason was that the strike interfered with the welfare of people in no way interested in the original strike.

The federal courts aided the President by issuing "blanket injunctions." By these all men were warned not to interfere with the railroads. Those who disobeyed were arrested, taken before a judge, and were tried by him, without the right to have the testimony heard by a jury as in ordinary cases. The loss of property was immense. If the value of the property destroyed and the loss of profits and wages be added, the amount would be about $80,000,000. Although few strikes have been as destructive, the total losses from them each year are very large.

Employers' Associations. — The organization of strong labor unions led to the formation of employers' associations to resist the demands of the employees. Local manufacturers have, like their employees, formed local unions or associations. Owners in the same business have formed great national employers' associations. In 1875 the United States potters formed an association. A few years later the stove manufacturers united into the Stove Founders' National Defence Association. Many others have been formed. In 1893, a National Association of Manufacturers was organized, which, like the Knights of Labor, included men from different parts of the country. In 1903 appeared the Citizens' Industrial Association. National, district, and local employers' associations united to form this, as different labor organizations united to form the American Federation of Labor. One object of unions of employers has been to make "collective" bargains about wages with all the employees in their particular industry. If the employees in the trade should strike, all the employers would stand together in the struggle.

Industrial Democracy. — Fortunately, it is becoming more and more common to lay the demands of the employees and the claims of their employers before industrial assemblies or "Boards of Arbitration" or "Boards of Conciliation." When this is done, each side agrees to accept the

decision of the board. In 1920 Congress provided a means of settlement of differences between railroad managers and laborers. Regional and national boards made up of representatives of both groups and of the public decide the issue. An Industrial Conference appointed by President Wilson recommended the same general plan for other industrial organizations. Some industries like the Cleveland Garment Makers voluntarily adopted a complete plan of industrial coöperation between managers and workers. According to such plans employers and employees appoint representatives to assemblies variously called "shop councils" or "shop committees" that meet regularly to deal with their common interests and prevent the growth of misunderstanding. When the assemblies fail to prevent serious differences which threaten a strike by the laborers or a lockout by the managers they may refer their differences to regional or national industrial boards as referees. The fact that representatives of the public sit with representatives of laborers and managers upon these boards gives the people a share, as it has an interest, in the settlement.

Many hope that these forms of industrial coöperation between workers and managers will restore the better relations which existed when factories and shops were small but which have been lost in the larger organizations since the Civil War. The representation of workers on shop committees and councils chosen by secret ballot should introduce into business some of the advantages of political democracy. It is a way of bringing about a kind of industrial democracy.

Factory Conditions.— Such assemblies sometimes provide for the health and comfort of all workers in the factories instead of leaving the question entirely to the managers. Employers and employees unite to make the mills and shops fit and safe places for work. In recent years great progress has been made in arranging methods of preventing accidents. Sometimes the machinery is so covered that workmen cannot be caught in it; sometimes electric devices are introduced for stopping machinery quickly in case of an accident. Some

industries go much further and provide night schools, kindergartens, and nurseries. Others have established amusement parks and public baths, and have built model factories. Sometimes the idea is simply that men will work better if they are comfortable, and that the profits of the business and the wages will be increased. But the more far-sighted leaders in industry are moved more by a desire to increase the opportunities for self-development of the people who work. State laws by providing systems of insurance and compensation for accidents have lessened the burden on the laborers in dangerous pursuits. Under such laws fixed sums are paid to the laborers or their heirs for injuries received while on duty.

The Immigrant Station at Ellis Island in New York Harbor

The cost of the system of Workmen's Compensation is then added to the cost of manufacture.

Coöperation in Work. — Employees and employers have not been the only classes to work together for their own good. In many parts of the United States the farmers or fruit growers have united to sell their products. In 1867 an organization called the Patrons of Husbandry was formed to make farming a pleasanter and more profitable occupation. It was commonly called the Granger movement, from the grange or local society. Local, district, state, and national organizations were formed similar to the labor unions. Another organization of farmers, started a few years later, grew about 1887 into the National Farmers' Alliance. These organizations have formed coöperative stores, creameries, elevators, and warehouses. They have done a great work

in teaching the farmers how to help themselves and in bringing them together for their social welfare. Some of the organizations have established libraries, reading courses, lyceums, and local institutes or clubs for the study of questions in which they are especially interested. In such ways they have taken part in the educational movement of the time.

Questions

1. Why did cities grow rapidly in this period? Where did the majority of the people in the older states live?

2. Where did the immigrants usually settle? From what parts of Europe did they come? What classes of laborers were excluded? With what kind of work did the immigrants generally start in the United States? What valuable taste did they bring to America?

3. Why did so many people go to dismal tenements in crowded parts of cities?

4. Why did the laborers form unions? Describe the larger organizations which the laborers have formed.

5. What change has taken place in the length of the working day? What did laborers formerly do when discontented with their wages or conditions of work? What have they done in recent years? Tell the story of a strike.

6. What method has been used frequently to settle differences between the laborers and employers without striking?

7. What step have the employers taken to combat the demands of the labor unions? Name some of the Employers' Associations which have been formed.

8. Describe a form of industrial coöperation.

9. In what work mentioned in the text have people begun to coöperate or unite either for buying or selling?

Exercises

1. Members of the class should gather information from their parents or friends wherever possible on (1) the wages in Europe when they left, (2) wages they found paid in the United States, and (3) the change which took place in the work of each in moving from Europe to the United States.

2. Is anything done in the local factories or mills that may be called "industrial coöperation" or "industrial democracy"?

3. Has your state a Workmen's Compensation System?

4. Describe any case of coöperation either in buying or selling of which the members of the class know. Were the results successful?

CHAPTER XLIV

THE NEW EDUCATION

The Schools since 1876. — The last forty or fifty years have seen as great changes in the schools as in manufacturing, and in methods of government. Not only has the number of pupils steadily increased, until in 1920 it numbered over twenty million, but new kinds of schools have been added. Much of the new work prepares the pupils directly for what they expect to do after they leave school. The improvement in managing schools and in teaching the ordinary subjects, reading, arithmetic, and geography, has also been important.

Graded Schools. — The early schools were ungraded, as many rural schools still are. Each teacher kept the same pupils from the time they began their A B C's until they left school. The division of the schools of cities and larger towns into grades was made before the Civil War. In recent years the plan has been extended to the rural schools. A large township school often takes the place of several district schools. In such cases wagons are provided to carry the children to and from school. The school year has also been lengthened. Some cities keep their schools open throughout the year, except for short vacations. Pupils may begin subjects in the middle, as well as at the beginning, of the year. By this plan those who are kept away for a time by illness lose only a few months instead of a whole year.

High Schools. — Many public high schools and private academies had been established before the Civil War, but from 1870 to 1900 the number of high schools increased rapidly. By the end of that period every town or city and many rural districts had high schools. These high schools do for their communities much that the early American colleges did for the first groups of settlements.

New Subjects. — The chief task of the graded school is still to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. Every year the number of persons in the United States who cannot read and write is decreasing. In 1910 it was only seven or eight in every hundred, and only three in each hundred of those born in the United States. This record was not as good as several European countries.

In the upper grades the pupils learn more about history and government than did their fathers. In history they study more about the way people lived, about industry and trade, and less about war. Another important subject, called hygiene, teaches the pupil how to keep the body healthy. In many schools the boys are taught to work in wood, and the girls to cook and to sew. Some schools have gardens in which the pupils may learn to raise vegetables for the use of their families. These changes have led parents to make a greater effort to keep their children in school. Several states have passed laws forbidding children to leave school until they have reached a certain grade and are fifteen or sixteen years of age.

Changes in High Schools. — The first high schools, especially in the eastern states, existed chiefly to prepare boys for college. Latin, Greek, and mathematics were the principal subjects. The American people soon concluded that such schools could educate only a few of the boys and girls, because only a few went to college. Before 1860 the Boston English High School had added many other subjects, including bookkeeping and surveying. Later the high schools began to group their students in "courses." Those who intended to go to college were put into one group and called "classical" students. Within the last fifteen or twenty years still greater changes have taken place. Separate high schools have been founded with the aim of teaching their students what they need to know in the work for which they are preparing. The Manual Training or Technical High Schools train boys for work in wood and iron, for drafting, designing, and other tasks. They prepare girls for designing, sewing, and cooking.

After finishing the course of study most of the students begin work at once, while others go to higher technical schools to obtain greater knowledge and skill. The Commercial High Schools prepare boys and girls for the practical work of business. In communities where no such separate high schools exist, the newer subjects are taught in the ordinary high schools. In some states agriculture is now taught in the high schools or in special schools.

A change has also come in the organization of many high schools. The first year of the high school has been combined with the last two years of the elementary school

A Technical High School which runs Evenings

and the new group called the Junior High School. The remaining three years of the high school make up the Senior High School.

Agricultural High Schools. — Agricultural high schools teach their pupils how to manage a farm, to grow fruit, to care for animals, and to conduct a dairy. They also teach many of the subjects taught in other high schools. In some of these schools, especially in Wisconsin, the teachers not only teach the boys and girls who attend but they also aid farmers of the region in planning their buildings and drainage, in testing seeds and soils, in selecting animals and trees, and they assist the housewives in arranging their kitchens and drains,

and in preparing and testing food. Each high school has its libraries, shops, laboratories, and workrooms. Indeed the new aim is to make the rural high schools model school-farms, and those in the cities model school-shops and factories. The study of books is retained so that the students may understand the world about them as well as be fitted to do some useful work in it.

Colleges and Universities. — The growth of colleges and universities has been as rapid as that of common schools and high schools. Wise and generous men have given large sums to the older colleges, in order that they may do more work. Other men have founded new colleges and universities. The gifts of one man founded Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, in 1876; of another Leland Stanford University, at Palo Alto, California, in 1891; of still another re-founded Chicago University in 1892. Other generous men have established special institutions in which highly trained men and women endeavor to discover ways of preventing disease or to find methods by which the people may do their work better.[1]

The states west of the Alleghenies, as well as a few of the older states, have placed a university at the top of their plan of public education. They thus offer free education not only to the child in the early grades of the common school and in the high school but also to the young man and woman in the state university.

As soon as the Northwest Territory was opened for settlement, the national government began to give land for the founding of colleges and universities. During the Civil War it made a still more liberal offer, promising each state many thousand acres, the amount in proportion to its population. The money obtained from the sale of the lands was used to pay for teaching agriculture and other technical or practical arts. Some states founded separate agricultural or technical colleges, others gave the new work to their universities.

[1] For example, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City and the Carnegie Institution in Washington.

Massachusetts divided the income from its share between an Agricultural College at Amherst and an Institute of Technology at Boston. New York, partly by use of the land grant, partly by the use of its ordinary income, and partly by gifts of citizens like Ezra Cornell, built up a great state university at Ithaca, called Cornell University.

In 1887 the United States again came to the aid of higher education, giving each state $15,000 a year for the improvement of agriculture. This money is used to maintain experimental or practice farms and dairies and laboratories for the

Experiment Station Farm
United States Department of Agriculture

study of problems connected with agriculture. Farming is becoming less a mixture of drudgery and chance and more a skilled occupation like medicine and law.

Higher Education for All. — The colleges in the colonies were established mainly to educate young men who expected to become Christian ministers. The graduates of these colleges also became lawyers and physicians. For a long time few went to college or the university except those who intended to enter such professions or to become writers and teachers. With the founding of technical or engineering colleges a change came, especially within twenty or thirty years. Now the young man or woman, whether he or she is going into one of the older professions or into industry, or business, or is to manage a farm, may find in some depart-

ment of the best universities training for each kind of work. The students not only use books, but they work in shops and laboratories upon tasks similar to those for which they are preparing. The states have also established normal schools in which teachers are trained for the public schools.

Many states are attempting to carry opportunities for higher education to the people in their homes. The University of Wisconsin, for example, has more students working under its guidance while living at home than it has regular

The Neighborhood using the School Building

students at Madison. The University offers courses to the people by correspondence, or in classes in selected towns of the state. Teachers from the University guide the students in practice work, assist them in their studies, and help them by lectures on difficult subjects. In such ways the universities are working for the whole people more than formerly. They still carry on studies and experiments in order to broaden knowledge; they now do much more to spread among all the people information about every new discovery or invention. Finally, by sending their teachers throughout the state, they help officials, the voters, business men, and all workers to solve their problems or do their work to better advantage.

Schoolhouses as Social Centers. — Some cities and states have begun to make larger use of their schoolhouses. The schools are supplied with books and magazines and newspapers in order to provide a reading room for old as well as young, or with a traveling library sent from the state or city library. Club rooms, gymnasiums, bath rooms, and playgrounds provide other means of recreation for the people of the neighborhood. This plan makes the schoolhouse a people's club and an educational center.

Parks and Playgrounds. — In this period, also, many citizens have learned that it is not enough to provide schools

A Chicago Playground

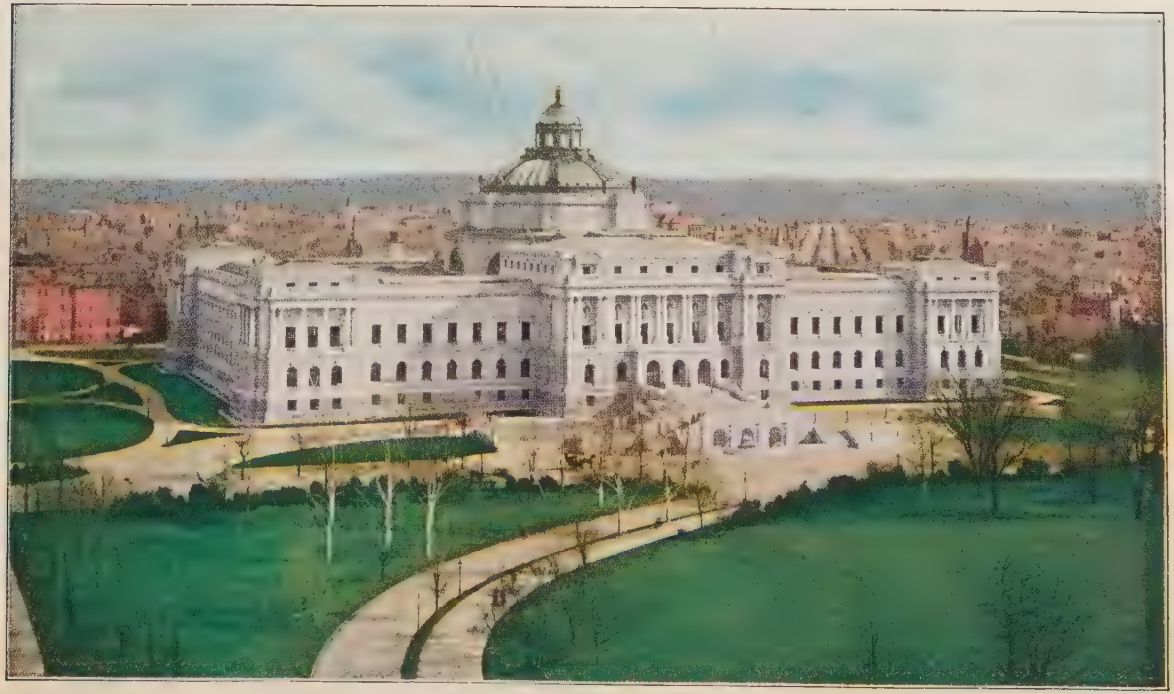
where boys and girls may remain a few hours of the day for most of the year. They have concluded that the cities should provide parks and playgrounds where the young people may enjoy healthful games after school hours instead of loafing about the street corners or running risks by playing in the streets. Such playgrounds are not mere open fields, but in grounds suitable for games, under the care of some one who understands how interesting games are played. Chicago set a good example to other cities by providing a playground in Washington Park in 1876. Twenty years passed before much more was done there or in other cities. Then Chicago appointed a commission whose business it was to establish playgrounds in parts of the city so crowded with buildings that

little open space for play remained. Other cities took up the work. In 1910 more than a third of the cities of the United States had such playgrounds.

These playgrounds are for men and women as well as children. Near the grounds a large house has often been built, suitable for neighborhood parties, for picnics, or for dances. Park and house together are called "recreation centers." By means of them thousands of people have gained for the first time an opportunity for wholesome play. Five million persons used the recreation centers of Chicago in one year.

Continuation Schools. — The interest of the American people in education has steadily gained headway. We have seen in the preceding chapter that factories often maintain libraries and special schools for their workers. In nearly every large city the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have opened schools for those who have not had an opportunity to attend the regular public or private schools. Two men, Lewis Miller and John H. Vincent, came to the conclusion that education begun in schools and colleges ought to be continued through life. To make this plan possible they started in 1874 Chautauqua Assemblies where people could go for several weeks' study under the best teachers. But the educational plan did not stop with serious courses of study. Unusual opportunities for recreation were offered, and popular lectures for those who wished to be listeners only. Beginning on a small scale at Chautauqua Lake, New York, the movement has spread until now there are five or six hundred such local assemblies or schools every summer in the United States and Canada. Some of them like the Champlain Assembly, a Catholic Summer School, at Plattsburg, New York, and the Jewish Chautauqua at Atlantic City, New Jersey, are quite as important as the original organization at Chautauqua.

Education through Newspapers, Magazines, and Books. — After all, school days for young and old are soon over. News-



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON

papers, magazines, and books then become the teachers of all. Since the Civil War the editors of some of the great newspapers and magazines have become more than ever leaders of thought. It is on the side of up-to-date news, accurate, and interesting, that the newspapers have made the chief progress. The magazines have become, like the newspapers, mirrors of life about them. Another improvement which makes both the newspapers and the magazines more interesting is the use now made of pictures and cartoons. The most famous cartoonist of this period was Thomas Nast, whose drawings published in *Harper's Weekly* did much to overthrow the Tweed Ring.[1]

But good books are the best teachers of the grown people, and good books as a result of the wonderful public libraries have become available to all for the asking. The task of helping Americans to know the country in which they lived, begun by Cooper and Irving, Hawthorne and Longfellow, was carried forward after the Civil War. Many authors of their day were still writing. In 1866 Whittier, who before the Civil War was chiefly interested in attacking the evils of slavery, wrote *Snow Bound*, describing scenes familiar to Americans born on the farm. Besides those who still wrote of the East others found subjects in the regions of the United States that had attracted little attention before the Civil War. Edward Eggleston described the life of the pioneers in the Old Northwest in the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, and the *Circuit Rider*. In poems like *The Old Swimmin' Hole* and *When the Frost is on the Punkin* James Whitcomb Riley, of Indiana, recalled pleasant memories of other days to all readers. George W. Cable seized upon the time when Spaniards and French occupied New Orleans, and made their customs the subject of *Old Creole Days* and other stories. Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page made the traits of the southern negroes and the vanishing plantation life the subject of many stories. Samuel L. Clemens, who took the name Mark Twain, found equally

[1] See cartoon on page 491.

interesting subjects in the country of his boyhood along the Mississippi River. Where is the boy who has not read *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn?* What Mark Twain did for steamboat days on the Mississippi Bret Harte did for early California days in such stories as *Luck of Roaring Camp.* Thoreau aroused interest in out-of-door life in New England, while John Muir and other writers called attention to the Rockies and the Sierras. Francis Parkman chose the forests about the Great Lakes as the scene of a series of histories which told of the adventures of French and English among the Indians, and of the struggle for the Mississippi Valley and for Canada. In a novel which he called *The Rise of Silas Lapham* William Dean Howells described the typical self-made American at the end of the nineteenth century. These are but a few of the books which have made the period since the Civil War notable in American history.

Questions

1. What changes have taken place in the town and rural schools since 1876? In the high schools?
2. What new subjects are taught in the schools? In the high schools? What special kinds of high schools have been built?
3. Describe the work of the agricultural and technical high schools.
4. How did the colleges and universities secure money to extend their work? What has the United States done to help higher education? What have the states done?
5. For what were the colleges in the colonies established? For what reason do people now go to college?
6. How do the universities now attempt to broaden their usefulness?
7. Where may people who have missed an opportunity to secure an advanced education go to study?
8. Who are the authors who have made the period since the Civil War notable in American history? What did they write?

Exercises

1. Locate the colleges and universities of the state. How are such schools supported? What kind of education does each offer?
2. Find examples of work done by neighboring colleges or universities similar to that done by the University of Wisconsin.
3. Visit some school center and city playground and describe its work.

CHAPTER XLV

THE REPUBLIC AND THE LARGER WORLD

Struggle for Colonies. — The United States for more than a century found plenty of lands to be colonized in the Mississippi Valley, the Far West, and on the Pacific Coast. Few Americans desired to conquer colonies beyond the seas. Meanwhile other nations had again become rivals in the struggle for colonial territories. The English, ever since the Revolutionary War had deprived them of the best part of their colonial possessions, had been busy adding one new colony to another. Their colonial empire had become world-wide, and they could boast that upon it the "sun never sets." The French, who had lost the Mississippi and St. Lawrence valleys in 1763, had also been building up a new colonial empire, this time in northern Africa and southeastern Asia. Since 1884 the Germans had been establishing colonies in Africa, on the coast of China, and in the Pacific islands. In 1898 the United States followed such examples, taking possession of several colonies after a war with Spain.

The Spanish War, 1898. — President McKinley, early in his administration, was obliged to decide how the United States should act in a war which had broken out between the Cubans and the Spaniards. Spain had ruled over Cuba since the time of Columbus. The Cubans, like the Mexicans and South Americans long before, were trying to put an end to Spanish rule and to found an independent republic. The war had been raging two or three years and the island was being laid waste. Stories of the cruelty of Spanish generals and of the sufferings of the Cubans aroused the sympathy of the American people. Some Americans had property in Cuba worth, all told, nearly $50,000,000, and they were anxious to have the war stopped.

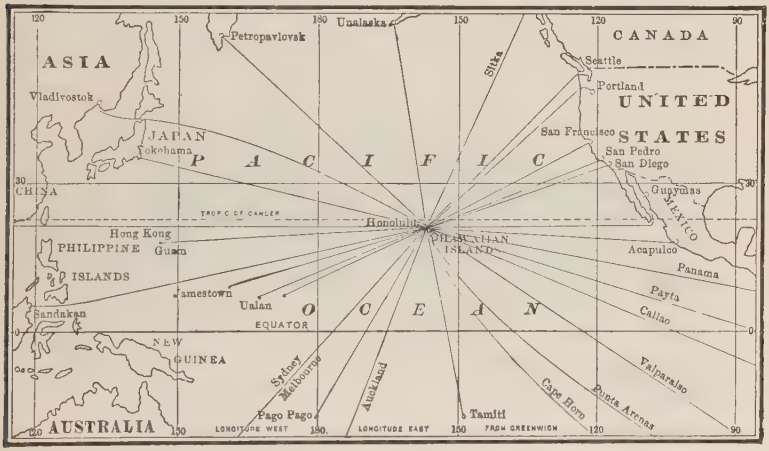
The Destruction of the "Maine." — It had already become hard to keep the peace between Spain and the United States, so strongly did many Americans urge their government to compel Spain to satisfy the Cubans. The Spaniards, on their side, were enraged at the assistance that Americans privately gave the Cubans. In February, 1898, the American battleship *Maine*, at anchor in the harbor of Havana, was blown up, causing the death of two officers and 258 seamen. Most Americans believed that the Spaniards had destroyed the ship and clamored for war against them. McKinley reluctantly yielded and war was declared.

MANILA AND THE PASIG RIVER

Showing the Magellan monument and the stone bridge connecting the walled city with Binondo

The War. — The conflict with Spain was brief, lasting only from April to August. The Spaniards, who had spent their resources in a vain effort to conquer Cuba, were unprepared for a longer war. On May 1, Commodore George Dewey, with a small fleet, easily destroyed a much inferior Spanish fleet in Manila harbor. Spain sent to Cuban waters a squadron under Admiral Cervera, but it was soon shut up in the harbor of Santiago by a larger American force under the command of Admiral Sampson. In order to make the capture of the Spanish ships in Santiago sure, an army of about 16,000 men, commanded by Major-General Shafter, was transported from Port Tampa, Florida, and landed on the coast near

Santiago.[1] Finally, on July 3, the Spanish fleet made a heroic effort to escape through the United States fleet stationed before the entrance to the harbor. After a running fight the Spanish vessels were destroyed. Santiago soon surrendered. Another American army under General Nelson A. Miles overran Porto Rico. A third, with some help from the natives, captured the city of Manila, in the Philippines, completing the task that Commodore Dewey had undertaken. About this time the war came to an end.



"The Cross-Roads of the Pacific"

Spain's Loss of Colonies. — In the treaty with Spain, Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands were ceded to the United States. Spain in return received $20,000,000. Cuba was given its independence. Spain thus lost the last remnant of her once vast colonial empire in the New World. Her influence, nevertheless, remained. The people of the countries of South America, except Brazil, of Central America,

[1] One cavalry troop, called the "Rough Riders," under the command of Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, was composed principally of western cowboys, Indians, football players, and adventurers. The doings of this regiment excited much interest throughout the war.

Mexico, and several of the West Indies were still largely Spanish.

The New Territories of the United States. — In the midst of the Spanish War Congress annexed the Hawaiian Islands, with the assent of a majority of the inhabitants. These islands are half-way stations to Japan, China, and the Philippine Islands. Any nation which controlled them would possess excellent harbors for its navy and would increase its power in the Pacific Ocean. The Hawaiians had first been taught the ways of civilization by American missionaries. Many Americans had settled in the islands. Under their

Senate and Legislative Buildings, Honolulu, Hawaii

lead a few years before an attempt had been made to overthrow the native rulers and add the islands to the United States. President Cleveland, however, had refused to support this plan of annexation. In the islands, at the present time, besides the Hawaiians and the Americans, there are many Japanese and Chinese.

In the Philippines there are more than 3,000 islands. Luzon, the largest, is about the size of Ohio. More than 7,000,000 people inhabit the archipelago, varying from the highly civilized Spaniards and Filipinos, to the rudest savage tribes. The islands are only half explored and the natural resources almost untouched.

When Commodore Dewey attacked the Spanish fleet in

Manila Bay, the natives were already trying to overthrow Spanish rule. They welcomed the Americans, whose forces made certain the defeat of the Spaniards. Many of them were angry when they discovered that they had simply changed masters, and they attacked the American army. This new war lasted about three years. As soon as possible after its close the Americans gave the natives a share in the government of the islands. Americans are divided upon the question whether the Filipinos should be made independent or should remain under American control.

Solving New Problems. — In the newly-gained territories of the United States and in Cuba natives and Americans have

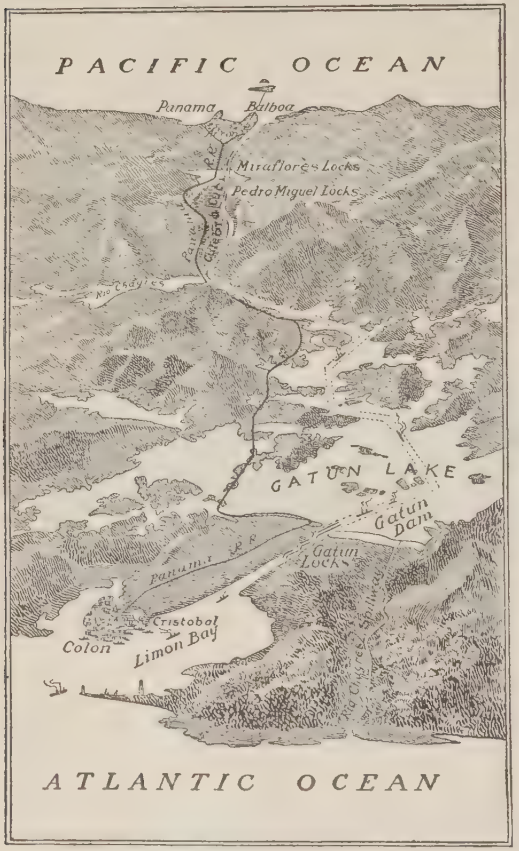
CAMP LAZEAR

Where the experiments with the yellow-fever mosquito were made. The transmission of the disease by a particular kind of mosquito was proved

worked well together. Much has been done to make the islands more healthful. Major Walter Reed, an army surgeon, discovered that malaria and yellow fever are carried by mosquitoes. He concluded that if the mosquitoes were destroyed, these diseases would die out. This was one of the world's most important discoveries. Yellow fever, which had long been the scourge of all tropical countries, and especially of the West Indies and the southern cities of the United States, was conquered.

Besides helping Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines to conquer disease, and besides building roads and harbors, the United States has tried to establish its free school system among them. More than a thousand American school teachers have been sent to the Philippines.

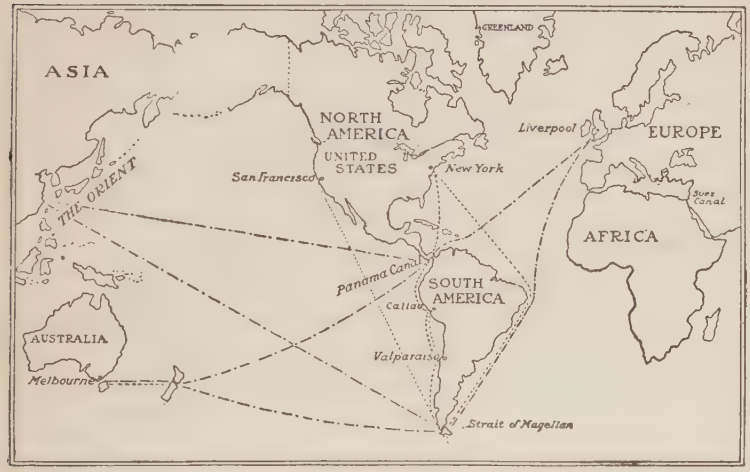
The Panama Canal. — The most interesting story of work done in a tropical climate is that of the Panama Canal. Before the war with Spain began, the battleship *Oregon* was stationed on the Pacific Coast. As it was needed in the West Indies for the coming struggle with the Spanish fleet, it was ordered to steam at full speed around South America, a distance of 13,000 miles. The people of the United States waited anxiously for the news that it had reached the other ships in the West Indies. They saw that many days would be saved if there were a canal through the Isthmus of Panama.[1]



Relief Map of the Panama Canal

[1] There were other reasons which made the people wish to have a canal. For example, an "all-water" highway from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic would enable shippers to send their goods from one coast to the other at less cost than by the railroads.

For centuries men had dreamed of such a canal. They thought that they could cut the passageway which Columbus had tried in vain to discover. In 1536 the king of Spain formed a plan for a ship canal near the Chagres River. A French company started in 1881 to build one, but became bankrupt before the work was half finished, seven years later.[1]



ROUTES PASSING THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

COMPARATIVE DISTANCES

		To San Francisco	*The Orient*	*Melbourne*	*Callao*	*Valparaiso*
From New York	*via* Magellan	13,135	13,566	12,852	9,613	8,380
	via Panama	5,262	9,798	10,392	3,363	4,633
	Difference	7,873	3,768	2,460	6,250	3,747
From Liverpool	*via* Magellan	13,502	13,933	13,425	9,980	8,747
	via Panama	7,836	12,372	12,966	5,937	7,207
	Difference	5,666	1,661	459	4,043	1,540

The Builders of the Canal. — President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, John Hay, next took up the task on behalf of the United States. They bought the rights of the

[1] The French Company spent $260,000,000 in its efforts to build a canal.

French Company, and entered into an agreement with the little republic of Panama by which a strip or zone ten miles wide was secured.[1] Medical officers, of whom Colonel Gorgas was the chief, made the region a safe place in which to live, as they had learned to do in Cuba and the island possessions of the United States. An army officer, Colonel Goethals, was given general charge of the task. Digging the passageway through the hilly part was begun in 1906, where the French had left off many years before. A dam on the Chagres River, besides furnishing the water for part of the canal, made a waterfall from which dynamos produce sufficient electricity to furnish power and light throughout the canal. The first boats passed through the completed canal in 1914, though the formal opening was celebrated in 1915 with an Exposition at San Francisco. Vessels now pass through the canal in 10 or 12 hours, while the voyage around South America would take from 30 to 45 days. The canal brings the coasts of the United States closer together, and is also rapidly becoming a highway of trade for all the world.

Keeping Order in the West Indies. — The Spanish War and the Panama Canal also revived the interest of the American people in the picturesque islands of the West Indies. Some of them have been the scene of almost perpetual civil war for more than a century. They were bankrupt states, unable to pay their debts to those who had lent them money. European powers threatened to take them in hand. The government of the United States regarded such interference as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. First with Santo Domingo and later with Haiti President Roosevelt and President Wilson worked out a plan of protection and assistance. It was an arrangement by which the United States protects the republics which occupy the old Spanish island of Hispanola from civil strife and foreign invasion, and assists them in the administration of their finances. In 1916 a

[1] The United States paid the French Company $40,000,000, and to Panama $10,000,000, and promised the latter also an additional yearly payment or rental of $250,000 beginning in 1913.

similar agreement was made with the republic of Nicaragua. In the treaty with Nicaragua the United States also secured the exclusive privilege of building another canal, and the right to use the Corn Islands and a port upon the Gulf of Fonseca as naval bases. To provide another convenient supply station for ships upon the new trade routes the United States purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917 at a cost of $25,000,000.

Questions

1. Where did England, France, and Germany obtain colonies in the nineteenth century? When did the United States obtain colonies beyond the seas? How did the United States obtain its colonies?

2. Why did the people of the United States want to stop the war in Cuba? What reason had the Spaniards for becoming enraged at the people of the United States? What was the effect of the destruction of the *Maine?*

3. What happened during the brief war with Spain? What colonies did Spain lose by the war? In what ways did Spanish influence remain in the New World?

4. What colony had the United States obtained during the war with Spain? What people live in this colony? Why did the United States have a war with the Filipinos?

5. What was the discovery of Major Walter Reed? What has the United States done for its colonies?

6. Why did the people of the United States desire a Panama Canal? Who had tried to build one? What did the medical officers of the United States do to aid in the work?

7. In what West Indies or Central American countries is the United States now engaged in keeping order?

Exercises

1. Learn as much as possible about the resources, geography, and people of the colonies.

2. What nations should the Panama Canal benefit by shortening the routes of trade? See map, page 483, with the chief distances by the old routes as well as by the new routes made possible by the canal.

Important Date:

1898. War with Spain and the annexation of Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

CHAPTER XLVI

NEW METHODS OF GOVERNMENT

President McKinley. — During President McKinley's first administration, as we have seen, the money question was decided by making gold the standard. The tariff was also revised once more, and the rates increased. The principal tasks of the President and Congress, however, came from the Spanish War and the introduction of new forms of government into the territories which, till 1898, had been colonies of Spain.

In 1900 President McKinley was again elected by large majorities. He had hardly begun his second term when he was assassinated. For the third time in the history of the United States a President had been murdered. In this case the assassin was an anarchist. The Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, became McKinley's successor.

Theodore Roosevelt. — The deep interest President Roosevelt took in the Panama Canal and in the irrigation works of the Far West has already been described. There were other, perhaps greater, problems which he tried to solve. They grew out of the organization of gigantic corporations or trusts to manage railroads, mines, petroleum wells, and manufactures, especially those of iron, steel, and oil.

In 1902 the miners of eastern Pennsylvania engaged in digging anthracite coal struck for higher wages and better conditions of work. They belonged to a union known as the United Mine Workers. The coal companies who employed them were also bound together by agreements. Certain of these companies were the railroads who carried coal to mills or to cities. It seemed as if the struggle might last a long time. Already the people of the large eastern cities were suffering for lack of fuel. To prevent still greater harm the President insisted that both employers and employees

should submit their disputes to arbitration. At first the mining companies refused to listen. They finally yielded and the struggle was settled in a spirit of fairness to everybody. This was the first illustration of what Roosevelt meant by the "square deal."

The President as a Leader. — The coal strike proved that the President must become more than ever the representative of the common interest. Many had begun to feel that the ordinary man and woman had little chance to be heard at Washington and that the laws were made for the benefit of powerful corporations or to satisfy the demands of labor unions with thousands of members. President Roosevelt believed in what he called "big business" and in labor organizations, but he attacked "false labor leaders" and "malefactors of great wealth." By these phrases he meant men who acted as if the selfish interest of their own group was superior to the welfare of the community. The enthusiasm and energy which he put into this campaign gave multitudes of people greater confidence in the wisdom and strength of the government.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

New Departments and New Laws. — What was better than fine words, the President recommended to Congress the creation of a Department of Labor and Commerce, whose chief should be a member of the Cabinet. Its task was to study the problems of the new industrial order and to suggest wise solutions. A few years later a Department of Labor was added to take over part of the work, securing for the laborers of the nation a representative in the President's Cabinet.

Another law increased the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It could now fix charges upon railroads and pipe lines. Still other measures gave the federal government power to inspect the meat prepared in packing-houses and compelled manufacturers to label correctly packages of foods and medicines. These were the "pure food laws."

President Taft. — Roosevelt was elected to a second term in 1904, and in 1908 his Secretary of War, William H. Taft, was chosen to succeed him. Taft had had a large share in the establishment of orderly government in the Philippines and in Cuba. The problems which as President he had to meet were similar to those of President Roosevelt's administration. One more attempt was made by Congress to revise the tariff, but this proved to be unpopular. The main problems were control of trusts or corporations and the conservation of the country's natural resources. A new corporation tax was a step in the direction of distributing more fairly the burdens of taxation. An important change was made in the management of public lands. Rights to the soil were treated as separate from rights to the minerals beneath it. The soil might then be sold without selling the mineral rights. The practice was introduced of leasing these at a fair annual rental. So were preserved the nation's interest in the vast supplies of coal, oil, natural gas, and asphalt which remained untouched. At the same time the government began to purchase forest areas in the White Mountains and the southern Appalachians adding them to the western national for-

William H. Taft

ests. This was a long step toward a complete scheme of water power conservation and development.

Woodrow Wilson. — In the election of 1912 occurred a new split in the Republican party more dangerous to its success than those of 1872 and 1884. The Republican convention renominated Taft in spite of the opposition of those delegates who did not regard him as the best representative of the Roosevelt policies. The dissatisfied delegates then nominated Roosevelt himself and called their party the "Progressives." The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, formerly President of Princeton University. With the Republican party divided, the Democrats easily elected their candidate.

WOODROW WILSON

The followers of the new President had a large majority in Congress. Laws to carry out the more important party pledges were passed. The tariff on imports was much reduced, and a little later a tariff commission was established to help Congress fix fair duties on imports. Laws were passed to give the Government of the United States fuller control of trusts and other large business organizations. A system of Federal Reserve Banks was created to do the work formerly done by the United States Bank which President Jackson had destroyed. The Reserve Banks represent the government in the banking business of the country and supply the amount of paper money, Federal Reserve notes, which is needed for carrying on trade. A law of 1916, somewhat like the Federal Reserve act, established a system of Federal Farm Loan Banks to aid the farmers with government loans at reasonable rates of interest. Before this, in 1914,

the United States had decided to build a government system of railroads for Alaska, in order to put on the market for the benefit of the American people the products of its forests, its mines, and its soil. These were important laws, but the completion of the Panama Canal, the Mexican Question, and the Great European War attracted more attention.

The Mexican Question. — For many years Mexico had seemed to prosper under the presidency of Porfirio Diaz. He was in such haste to build railroads and develop the natural resources of the country that its wealth enriched foreign contractors and capitalists, rather than the Mexican people. In 1910 a revolution suddenly broke out and Diaz fled to Europe. For the next ten years revolution followed revolution. Many Americans, as well as other foreigners, perished and much property was seized. In the United States the cry was raised that President Wilson should intervene for the restoration of order and the protection of property. Had he not shown great forbearance war would have broken out. As it was, the forces of the United States at one time occupied Vera Cruz. At another time an expedition under General John J. Pershing entered northern Mexico in pursuit of General Villa, leader of one of the Mexican factions, who had raided the town of Columbus, New Mexico. Not only the American regular army but most of the State militia were sent to guard the southern frontier. Order was finally restored by General Alvaro Obregon, who became President of Mexico.

Election of 1916. — In 1916 President Wilson was chosen for a second term. The country was soon afterwards involved in war with Germany. The war and its problems claimed the President's attention.[1]

Mismanaging American Cities. — Party managers, "political bosses" they were generally called, often managed city affairs to suit themselves. City councils did as they ordered. When purchases were made or streets opened or buildings constructed, the city was charged prices higher than those

[1] See Chapter XLVIII.

charged to private individuals for similar things, and the difference was divided between the sellers and the officials. This method has been named "graft."

The most famous group of such "grafters," [1] called at the time a "ring," led by William M. Tweed, stole $100,000,000 from New York City in three years. They paid a plasterer $3,000,000 for work they said he had done. As they alone kept the city accounts, no one could tell how they had used the money raised by taxation. In 1871 the thefts of the Tweed Ring were discovered and some of the band were punished. Such stories aroused the people.

THE "TWEED RING"
From a cartoon by Nast

The reasons why Americans have found it so difficult to secure honest city government have been of two kinds. The principal one is that citizens have been more interested in their business than in their government. The other is that many a city has been organized in such clumsy fashion that honest officials have had a hard task to manage its affairs well.

Changes in City Government. — The cities have borrowed parts of their organization from the national or state governments. Instead of a governor or president they have a mayor; instead of a legislature or congress they have a council. The council, like the state legislature and the national Congress, was commonly made up of two bodies. One body was supposed to correct the mistakes of the other.

[1] The farmer grafts upon a branch of one tree a twig coming from another. So the dishonest official adds to the expense of a piece of work money for himself.

Most cities have abolished one of the bodies, concluding that two did more harm than good. New York City made the change in 1873. Many towns as they grew into large cities adopted newer and simpler forms of government. In recent years some have gone much farther, replacing mayor and council by a small commission or board.

Galveston was the first city to try the commission plan. When a large part of it was wrecked by a great storm which swept over the Gulf of Mexico in 1900, the officials seemed helpless. The city needed better leadership. Several prominent men asked the state legislature to intrust the affairs of Galveston to a board or commission of five men. The legislature consented and a commission was chosen. One of the commissioners was called the mayor. The new government accomplished such wonders that other cities adopted the plan. By 1920 several hundred cities in all parts of the United States had introduced commission government. Large cities like Buffalo, Kansas City, New Orleans, and St. Paul were among the number. In many places, — for example Staunton, Virginia, — the council or commission hired a city manager.[1] It is a growing custom to promote city managers who have been successful from one city to another, as is done in the case of superintendents of schools.

The Short Ballot. — The plan of governing cities by small commissions has reduced the number of officials whom the voter must choose. The same result has been gained by intrusting to the mayor the appointment of the important officials, who form his " cabinet " and who manage the different departments of the city. The citizen in that case knows whom to blame or to praise.

In many state and local elections the voter has been obliged to choose his list of officials from among over 100 names on what is called a " blanket " ballot. This has given reason to

[1] Staunton adopted the plan in 1908. In 1920, cities of considerable size like Akron and Dayton, Ohio, Norfolk, Virginia, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and San Diego, California, were under the city manager system. A complete list would include about 175 cities of varying population.

the cry for the "short ballot," in order that the voter may make fewer and more intelligent choices.

City Planning. — The new interest in the management of cities has shown itself in other ways besides methods of government. Many Americans, as well as Europeans, have ceased to look upon their city merely as a very large, haphazard collection of houses, clustered about factories, stores, railroad stations, and steamboat wharves. They have begun

THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court, the Senate, and the House of Representatives meet in the Capitol

to think that cities should be planned as carefully as a person plans his dwelling. They argue that each person, however small his income, should have a share of sunlight and pure air, and should be able to go rapidly and cheaply to his place of labor. The location of residences and factories, of large and small streets, and of railway lines, should be planned carefully. The builder of one house should not be allowed to make his neighbor's house uncomfortable. Parks, playgrounds, bath houses, and social halls are already provided in many places. The citizens are beginning to work together

to make the city healthful and beautiful, as well as successful in its industries.

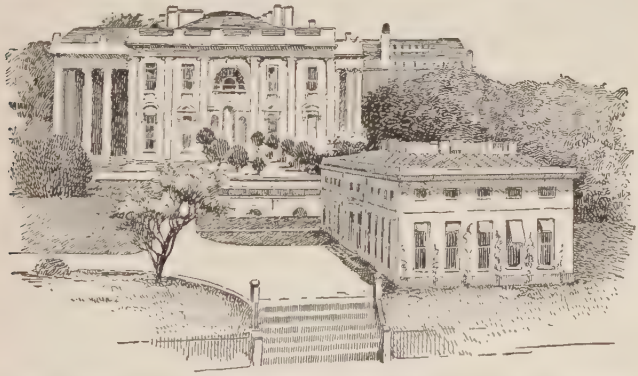
Woman Suffrage. — One consequence of the change in the methods of manufacturing, replacing household industries by work in the factory, has been a rapid increase in the number of women who work side by side with men. Women have, more than before, taken the lead in the great reforms of the time. Many of them demanded the right to vote and to have a share in managing the affairs of city, state, and nation. In 1869, when Wyoming organized its territorial government, women were included among the voters. When the territory became a state, they kept the right to vote. In 1893 Wyoming's next neighbor, Colorado, adopted the same plan. By 1920 more than one half of the states had granted the privilege of voting to women.[1] In the same year the ratification of the nineteenth amendment completed the change that had been slowly taking place by giving the women everywhere in the United States the right to vote.

Control of Officials. — About 1889 another reform was begun, first in the South and West. The people had grown tired of the way the party managers controlled conventions, leaving the citizen no choice but to vote for men whom the managers selected. Calhoun had said this would be the outcome when the convention system was first adopted. The southern and western states provided a system of primaries, at which the people had the right to nominate the candidates for election. The primaries took the place of the conventions.

Another reform found popular favor in the western states

[1] The states that had given women the right to vote before 1920 were Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), California (1911), Arizona, Kansas, Oregon (all in 1912), Illinois (partial, 1913), Montana and Nevada (1914), New York (1917), Nebraska, North Dakota, and Delaware (all in 1918), Iowa, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Tennessee (all in 1919).

where the railroads had often controlled the members of the state legislatures. In 1898 South Dakota adopted the "Initiative and Referendum." [1] By means of the Initiative, if a certain part or fraction of the voters proposes a law, the legislature must consider it. If the legislature refuses to adopt it, it may then be submitted to the entire body of voters at an election. By the Referendum, if a certain number of the voters demand, laws which the legislature has just passed must also be laid before the voters for approval or rejection. Such a plan makes attempts to control or bribe



The White House and the President's Office Building

a legislature unprofitable. It also enables the voters to have a part in lawmaking. The new system has moved slowly eastward into several of the older states. Still another plan to give citizens a more direct control of their officials is the "Recall." It was first adopted in the city of Los Angeles. According to this plan the citizens, upon petition of a certain number of them, are required to decide at an election whether an official's term should be ended earlier than at the close of

[1] South Dakota was merely the first state to adopt these as a regular part of the mode of making laws. The Initiative and Referendum had long been known and frequently used in other states for special purposes. This was especially true of the Referendum, which was regularly used for the ratification of constitutions. Both were part of the Swiss system of government.

the period for which he was originally chosen.[1] Many cities have followed the example of Los Angeles when they have remodeled their methods of government. Oregon adopted the Recall for state officials in 1908. The Recall, like impeachment, has seldom been used. It goes much farther than the method of impeachment, threatening the unpopular official, while impeachment threatens only the officials guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Changing the Constitution. — One method of giving the citizens a more direct share in their government applied to the national system. Senators had always been elected by the state legislatures. Several cases where candidates were known to have bribed legislatures to vote for them aroused much opposition to the old way. Besides, legislatures often spent much of their ordinary session in a quarrel over who should represent the state in the United States Senate. In 1913 an amendment to the Constitution took away from the legislatures their privilege of choosing senators and gave it to the people of the states in their regular fall elections. An amendment of another kind, the eighteenth, adopted in 1919, prohibited the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors.

The Great War in Europe. — Neither the changing methods of government nor the new issues since the Spanish War so much affected the welfare of America as a great war which started in Europe in 1914. President Wilson had been in office only a little more than a year when this European war broke out. It came as a surprise and a shock to most Americans. They knew that the principal countries of Europe had long been divided into two groups — on the one hand the Triple Alliance, composed of the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and Italy; on the other, the Triple Entente, — France, Russia, and Great Britain. They had been told that at several times within ten years these two groups were on the verge of war, and that each country was

[1] The Recall like the Initiative and Referendum had long been in regular use in Switzerland.

adding steadily to its army and navy. However, nearly every one was convinced that a general European war was impossible, for all realized what a terrible calamity it would be. They did not think any government cruel enough to bring it about.

Questions

1. What were the chief events of the time of Roosevelt as President? of Wilson as President?

2. Name the Presidents elected since the Spanish War. Why were the Presidents of the time looked to as leaders of their parties?

3. Why were American cities badly managed? What changes have been made in city government to make it simpler? Where did the commission plan of government originate? What plan originated in Staunton, Virginia?

4. What other method besides the commission plan has been used to reduce the number of officials for whom the citizen must vote?

5. What is the meaning of the "short ballot"? of "city planning"?

6. What new class of voters has lately been added? Where did this movement begin?

7. What methods have been introduced for the control of officials?

8. What changes have recently been made in the Constitution?

Exercises

1. The members of the class should describe the local government of the place where they live. When was the present form of local government adopted? Is it satisfactory to the voters?

2. Examine a ballot of the last election. Was it a "Short ballot" or a "Blanket ballot"? Were the candidates nominated by direct primaries or by conventions?

3. Do the voters of the state have a share in law-making by the Initiative and Referendum? Do they have the right of Recall of officials? If so, have any officials been recalled?

4. Review the extension of the number of voters, pages 283–284. Find out whether woman suffrage has been adopted in other countries.

Important Dates:

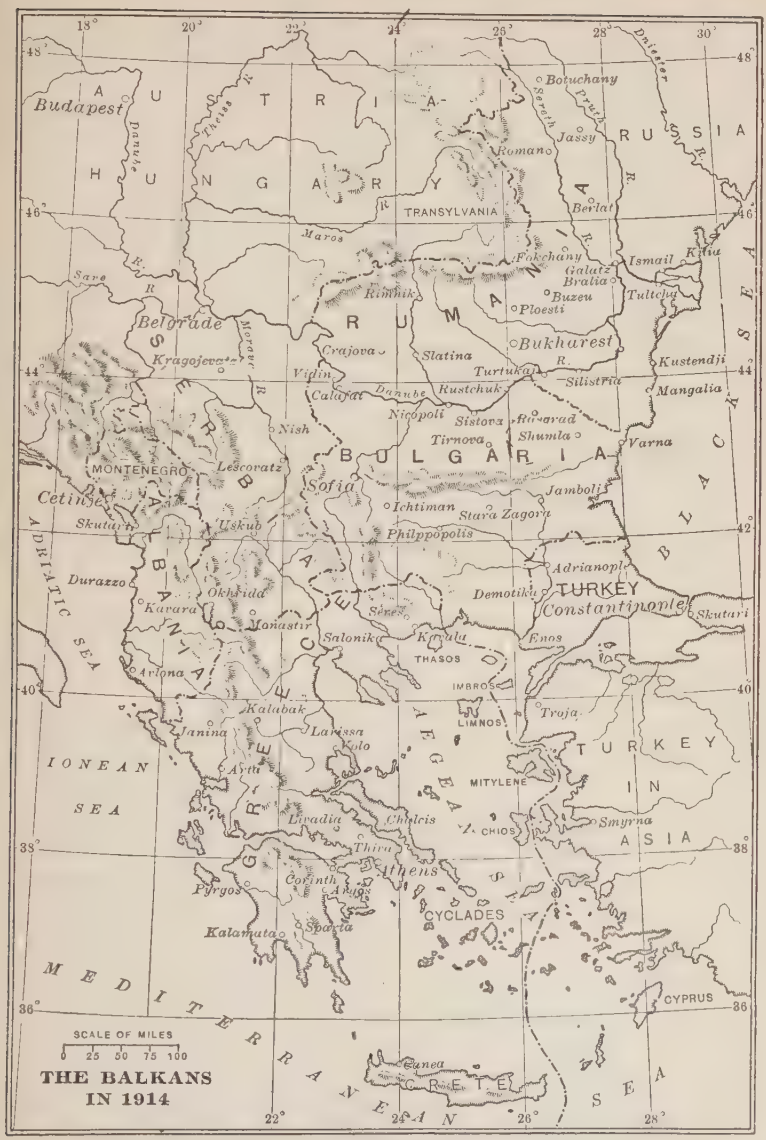
1913. The Federal Reserve System created.
1915. Opening of the Panama Canal.
1920. The 19th Amendment extends suffrage to Women.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE GREAT WAR IN EUROPE

Why Germany was willing to have War. — The German Empire had grown mightily since 1871. The population had increased from forty to seventy millions. The people ceased to be occupied mainly with agriculture, and more than half of them were engaged in mining, manufacturing, and commerce. Their ships were seen on every ocean. Their merchants were successful in marketing goods all over the world. Yet the German leaders were not satisfied. As their Emperor said, they wanted "a place in the sun." He meant that the place should be so large that other peoples would stand in the shadow. It is true that nearly all lands suitable for colonization had been occupied before the German Empire was created, and that the few colonies which Germany had founded were unprofitable. But this was no reason for turning the world upside down or robbing more fortunate neighbors.

Berlin to Bagdad. — There was one part of the world in which the German leaders were becoming more and more interested. This was the Balkan Peninsula, which lies south of Austria-Hungary, Germany's ally for nearly forty years. If we study a map showing the mountainous regions of southeastern Europe, we shall see that the great route from Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest to Constantinople crosses Serbia, following for many miles the valley of the Morava. The Emperor William from the very beginning of his reign sought to appear as the special friend and protector of the Turks and of their Sultan, the notorious Abdul Hamid. He visited Constantinople and journeyed as far as Jerusalem. A German general reorganized the Turkish army. This friendship


AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
RUSSIA
RUMANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
TURKEY IN ASIA
TURKEY
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
GREECE
Budapest
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Botuchany
Sereth R.
Pruth R.
Jassy
Romano
Dniester R.
Berlat
TRANSYLVANIA
Maros R.
Fokchany
Galatz
Braila
Ismail
Kilia
Save R.
Rimnik
Buzeu
Ploesti
Tultcha
Belgrade
Morava R.
Kragojevatz
Crajova
Slatina
Bukharest
Kustendji
Vidin
Turtuka
R.
Silistria
Mangalia
Calafat
Danube
Rustchuk
Nicopoli
Sistova
Rustchuk
Shumla
Varna
Nish
Tirnova
Lescovatz
Sofia
Jamboli
Cetinje
Ichtiman
Stara Zagora
Skutari
Uskub
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Durazzo
Okhrida
Demotika
Constantinople
Karara
Monastir
Seres
Skutari
Salonik
Kavalla
Enos
THASOS
Avlona
IMBROS
Kalabak
LIMNOS
Troja
Janina
Larissa
Volo
IONEAN SEA
Arta
MITYLENE
Lepanto
Chalcis
CHIOS
Smyrna
Thiva
Athens
Corinth
Argos
Pyrgos
CYCLADES
Kalamata
Sparta
CYPRUS
Canea
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100
THE BALKANS IN 1914

profited German engineers and bankers, for they obtained the privilege of building railways, especially a railway through Asia Minor and down the Euphrates Valley to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf.

If German money and German industry should bring back prosperity to this region, it would become quite as valuable to the Germans as would a colony. They would have something to set over against the British control of Egypt. If war should ever break out with the British, troops might be sent toward Egypt over the new railway, and a fatal blow struck at the British Empire, for Egypt is a halfway house to India.

Austria and the Balkans. — Germany's allies, the Austro-Hungarians, were interested in this scheme, but they were still more anxious to gain control of the Balkan Peninsula as far as the Ægean Sea at Salonika. The inhabitants of the peninsula had no desire to come under Austrian rule. For centuries they were oppressed by the Turks, but had nearly rid themselves of these masters. In the northern section nearly all the peoples were branches of the South or Jugo-Slav race. The Serbians had been the first to become independent.

Bosnia, west of Serbia, half of whose inhabitants are Serbians, was annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908. This angered the Serbians, who believed that men of the same race should have the right to live together under rulers of their own choosing, and not be parcelled out among powerful neighbors. Every advance that Serbia made was jealously watched by Austria. In 1913 when the Serbians took from Turkey lands long inhabited by their kindred, Austria proposed to begin a " defensive war " upon Serbia, but Germany advised Austria to wait. She did wait, though only for another pretext.

If Austria-Hungary should control the Balkan Peninsula, and Germany the Turkish Empire, the whole of Central Europe and Western Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad, would be under the influence of these two allies.

Who in Germany could decide for War? — When the pretext for war should be found, the rulers of Germany meant that their armies should strike smashing blows before their opponents were ready to move. The German army in 1913 had been increased to 800,000 men, with three or four times as many more in reserve, who could be called to the colors. No other army except the Russian was nearly as large, and the Russian army was poorly supplied and had only a small stock of munitions. The railroads in Germany were planned to carry vast numbers of men to any frontier, east or west, with the greatest speed. Were these preparations simply for defense, or were they meant for use when a convenient time came to attack neighboring countries and rob them of border provinces? The decision upon this question rested with a little group of officials about the "Supreme War Lord," as the German Emperor was called.

The Imperial German Government included a parliament, named the Reichstag; but, unlike the English House of Commons, it did not control either the Emperor or his principal minister, the Chancellor. One of its own members spoke of it as no better than a debating society. Whether the German Emperor and his advisors would decide for war or for peace was not very hard to guess. They seemed readiest to listen to the Pan-Germans, who were always talking about the might of Germany and the necessity of more territory for German growth. One of these Pan-Germans, General von Bernhardi, declared that in the next war the German rallying cry should be, "World power or downfall."

The Pretext. — Austria had to wait only a year for a pretext. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, was assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. Although the assassins were Austrian subjects, they were of Serbian stock. Austrian and Hungarian officials declared that Serbia was the real conspirator, and that the assassins were only vulgar tools. Germany was ready to support her ally, although an attack upon Serbia might bring on the general war so much dreaded.

Serbia's Champion. — The nation that stood in the way of Austria's having her will with Serbia was Russia. Both the Serbians and the Russians belong to the Slav race. Their religion is the same. It was to Russia that Serbia owed her freedom from the Turks. Slavic peoples felt so strong a sympathy for each other that the Germans accused them of being Pan-Slavs, favoring the union of all Slavs against other European peoples. It is certain that the Russians were in no mood to see Austria-Hungary destroy Serbia's independence.

War Begins. — The Austrians first sent to Serbia a series of harsh demands. Serbia accepted all but one or two, and these she could not accept without sacrificing her independence. Austria refused to submit the question to the Hague Tribunal, and hastened to declare war. Great Britain urged all to join in a conference. Germany replied that this was impossible, because the question concerned only Austria and Serbia. She also said that Great Britain's best efforts should be used to persuade Russia to stand aside. But Russia was serious and began to assemble her armies. Germany then, on August 1, declared war, in order to get her armies in motion before Russia should be ready to act.

As France was the ally of Russia, Germany prepared to attack her also. The French were so anxious to avoid war, unless it was forced upon them, that they kept their soldiers several miles from the frontier until the German government declared war.

Great Britain enters the War. — Germany's first act forced the British to take up arms. This act was the invasion of Belgium, a neutral state, pledged to fight on neither side. To understand the reason we must study the map and remember that Germany meant to crush France before the Russians had time to assemble large armies on the eastern frontiers of Prussia. If France was out of the fight, the German generals argued that the Russian forces could soon be defeated.

The frontier between France and Germany runs from Luxemburg to Switzerland through a region broken by hills or ranges of mountains. Any advance toward Paris, even

if the French should be driven back, would be difficult and slow, because the German armies would have to force their way up the eastern slopes of one plateau after another. This would give time for a Russian advance. The German generals therefore decided to take the quickest road into France, which was straight across the wide plains of Belgium. As the French did not expect an attack in that direction, the Germans thought that they could sweep on through the open rolling country of northern France to the gates of Paris.

Germany, as well as France and Great Britain, had agreed by treaty that no army should enter Belgium. In spite of this, crying out that "Necessity knows no law," and that the treaty was only "a scrap of paper," the Germans started to "cut their way through." The consequence was that, on August 5, the British government declared war. The British people felt that their pledges to Belgium must be kept.

The German Plan breaks down. — The brave Belgians tried to bar the way to the Germans, and succeeded in holding them for a few days before Liége, a strong fortress town on the Meuse. The Belgians were finally crushed under the weight of numbers. Their army retreated toward the coast, while the Germans marched southward through Brussels to the French border. A small British army, all that was then ready, was promptly despatched to France to help the French defend their frontier.

The German hosts outnumbered both French and British and pressed into France not only from Belgium, but also through Luxemburg and Lorraine. They advanced with astonishing speed until they had crossed the Marne and were directly east of Paris. The French capital seemed to be doomed and the Government was moved to Bordeaux. Verdun, the great fortress on the northeastern frontier, was nearly surrounded. Nevertheless, early in September, the French and the British rallied for a supreme effort. They broke the center of the long German lines and captured thousands of prisoners. The Germans had expected a decisive victory; they were disastrously defeated. The plan to

crush France had failed. This has been called the First Battle of the Marne. Its hero was General Joffre, the leader of the French.

The German plan broke down in the East as well as in the West. The Russians assembled their armies so rapidly that they invaded East Prussia before the Germans were ready to defend that frontier, and German troops had to be drawn by rail from their armies in France to check the invaders.

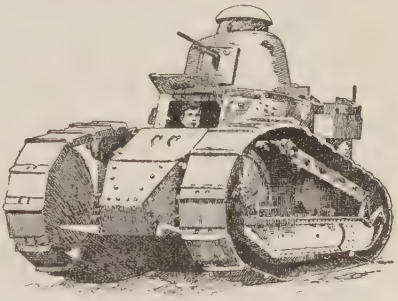
The Germans had still another disappointment before autumn was over. They tried to drive the Belgian army out of Belgium and to take the Channel ports, Dunkirk and Calais. They did succeed in capturing Antwerp, Bruges, and Ostend, but nothing beyond. The southwestern corner of Belgium remained unconquered. Arras could not be captured, and the French coast was safe. Reënforcements and supplies for the French could cross from England to France unhindered by the German armies.

Becoming a World War. — The war had not been going on many months before all the world seemed divided into two huge armies. Japan, as Great Britain's ally in the Far East, joined in the struggle. Even China and Siam eventually declared war upon the Germans. It was a world war in another way, too. Great Britain had never had universal military service, but now was obliged to send into the battle lines all able-bodied men not needed in industry. The motto was "Work or fight." Before the war was over five million Britons had been called to the colors. If we should add together the armies of all countries engaged in the war, the total would be more than fifty million men. Most of these countries took the side of France, England, and Russia, but Turkey and Bulgaria fought on the German side.

A small group of Turkish schemers, led by German agents, forced the Turkish Empire into the war. The consequences were serious for Russia, especially because the Turks could close the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. With the outlet of the Baltic Sea already closed by the Germans, Russia had

to obtain supplies over the Trans-Siberian Railway from Vladivostok, on the Pacific, thousands of miles away, or from Archangel on the White Sea, which is frozen half the year.

This misfortune was offset early in 1915 by the entrance of Italy into the war on the side of the Allies. The Italians sympathized with the French who had been so unjustly attacked by Germany. They also were anxious to bring under their flag the Italians who lived under Austrian rule in the Trentino, in Trieste, and all along the northeastern border. These lands they called "Unredeemed Italy," which should be added, they thought, to the other states united in the Kingdom of Italy.



An American "Whippet" Tank

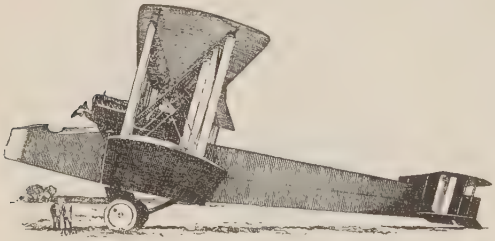
The action of Italy ended the famous Triple Alliance which had lasted more than thirty years. Soon, however, there was a Quadruple Alliance, for Bulgaria joined Germany, Austria, and Turkey. The other name for this alliance was the "Central Powers." Bulgaria's motive was to gain territory of which she believed she had been wrongfully deprived by Serbia and Greece. The consequence was that Serbia was soon overpowered. The road from Berlin to Constantinople was open.

The next year the Roumanians suffered a similar fate. They joined the Allies expecting help from Russia, but the Russian armies were disorganized and without supplies. As the British and French fleets could not break through the Dardanelles, the Roumanians were shut off from help.

Battles were fought in still more distant parts of the world. The Turks and the Germans tried to attack Egypt and seize the Suez Canal. They struggled with the British

for mastery in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and with the Russians in the mountains of Armenia and on the borders of Persia. The whole world was full of turmoil and the clash of arms.

New Methods of Fighting. — This war differed from former wars not only in the number of soldiers, but also in their manner of fighting. When the Germans retreated from the Marne, they entrenched themselves in Belgium and northern France, in one continuous line from the Channel to Switzerland. The British and the French likewise "dug in," as the soldiers called it. At short intervals deep shelters or "bomb proofs," were constructed to protect men and officers from exploding shells. In front of the trenches was stretched row upon row of entangled barbed wire. The trench system of the Germans was finally named the "Hindenburg Line," from their favorite general, who, they thought, could never be beaten.



A Large British Bombing Plane

In an attack the first thing was to smash the enemy's defenses by the fire of hundreds of cannon. The soldiers then leaped out of their trenches and charged. This they called "going over the top." The artillery sent a stream of shells, or a "barrage," just ahead to break down the resistance of the enemy. In the later years of the war the British constructed steel tanks, or tractors, with caterpillar wheels, and armed with rapid-firing cannon. The heavy tanks could crash through every obstacle, while the light tanks, or "whippets," moved swiftly upon the enemy's lines, opening the way for the advancing soldiers.

Of all the methods the most wonderful was the fighting in the air. The Germans at first trusted in enormous Zeppelin

airships, but these proved to be no match for swift airplanes. Both sides relied on armed biplanes, which fought singly or in squadrons. Sometimes these battles took place two miles above the earth. Airplanes were also used for scouting. Often they were fitted with instruments for making photographs of the enemy's position.

Sea Power. — From the outset the British navy, aided by the French navy, controlled the sea. This control was of

THE INTERIOR OF THE LIBRARY AT LOUVAIN AFTER THE GERMAN TROOPS HAD PASSED

An example of ruthlessness

immense value to Great Britain and her allies, for it enabled them to draw food and other supplies from neutral countries, such as the United States. It also enabled them to blockade Germany and her allies, cutting these countries off from the same markets, with the consequence that the Germans and Austrians were soon short of cotton, wheat, copper, rubber, and other important articles.

German "Frightfulness." — War is always cruel, but the German leaders deliberately added to its terrors. They seemed to think that if they thoroughly frightened the inhabitants of an invaded country, its soldiers would lose

courage, abandon all resistance, and sue for peace. Many things that they did were expressly forbidden in treaties they had signed. Here again they held that "Necessity knows no law."

When they first advanced into Belgium they burned towns and shot numbers of the inhabitants, women as well as men, if they suspected even a few individuals of having fired upon them after the Belgian army had withdrawn. Upon such an excuse Louvain, with its cathedral and university, was burned. In their invasion of northern France they acted in the same way. The only consequence was to excite general horror and to steel all hearts against a thought of yielding.

THE "LUSITANIA"

The same consequence followed other ruthless practices. From the very outset bombs were dropped from Zeppelins on cities many miles from the battle lines. Antwerp was the first victim, then Paris, and then London. As these raids occurred at night many of the inhabitants, women and children as well as men, were killed in their beds. After several of the Zeppelins had been destroyed by airplane squadrons or by cannon shots, the Germans carried on the raids with swift airplanes.

In 1915 the Germans began the practice of sending clouds of poison gas over lines which they proposed to attack. This was first tried against British troops near Ypres. Such fiendish methods were unsuspected and the soldiers who breathed the poison died in agony. To guard against the danger, masks were soon invented and distributed to the troops.

The Allies in self-defense were obliged to produce gases for use in battle. They also raided German cities from the air, although they generally dropped their bombs on railroad stations and munition works.

Frightfulness on the Sea. — The German leaders carried "frightfulness" into warfare on the sea, where fighting, terrible as it might be, had always been done with knightly courage and noble courtesy. Their means was the submarine or U-boat. Claiming that the British blockade had brought slow starvation upon the women and children of Germany, and that this gave them the right of retaliation, they threatened to sink all vessels, even those belonging to neutral countries, which sailed to or from the shores of Great Britain, France, and Italy. The attack by the submarine was usually made by discharging a torpedo under water, and a fearful explosion was often the first notice a ship had that a U-boat was near. The sailors and passengers often did not have time to launch the lifeboats before they were engulfed with the ship. If they did get away in boats, they might be scores of miles from the nearest shore and doomed to perish miserably.

The most ruthless deed of the kind was the destruction of the great Cunarder *Lusitania*, which was sunk without warning in May, 1915. More than eleven hundred men, women, and children were drowned, among them 114 Americans.

The Neutrality of the United States. — A few nations remained neutral to the end of the war. If their lands, like those of Holland and Denmark, lay open to German attack, they had little choice in the matter, however strong their sympathies might be with the cause of the Belgians and the French. At first it seemed to be the duty of the United States to maintain a careful neutrality. Ever since Washington's time the American people had been taught to beware of "entangling alliances" and to stand aloof from European conflicts. To many the war at first appeared to be a struggle between two rival European groups of nations, — Germany and Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and France, Russia,

and Great Britain on the other. The great majority of Americans, however, sympathized with France and Great Britain, especially after they read the stories of the cruelties of the German armies in Belgium and northern France. And they felt no doubt that Germany would soon suffer a well-deserved defeat. Many generous young men were eager to have a share in the triumph of the good cause and crossed the border to Canada to enlist, while others went directly to France.

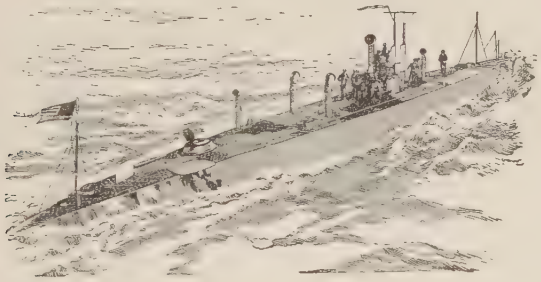
The United States enters the War. — As the war went on, leading Americans saw that their country would inevitably be drawn into the struggle. They began to realize what were the purposes of the military masters of Germany. The successes of the German armies tempted German writers and speakers to boast how they were to make the world over. Smaller and weaker nations were to have no place. The law of might was to be the rule. When Serbia and Roumania were overrun, when the Russian armies were forced far back within their own frontiers, and when the German hold upon northern France seemed unshakable, the dream of power cherished by the Pan-Germans seemed to be dangerously near to a reality. Such a Germany would threaten the peace of the United States. The German Emperor said to the American ambassador, "After the war I shall stand no nonsense from the United States."

Another reason for the change in American feeling was the conduct of German consular officials in our principal cities and of members of the staff of the German legation at Washington. They constantly plotted to stop the trade between the United States and the Allies by blowing up munition factories or by putting bombs in ships about to leave port. They also planned to destroy bridges and canals in Canada and to start insurrections in India.

It was the ruthless attacks of submarines upon merchant vessels and passenger ships which changed Germany from a secret foe to an open enemy. According to the honorable customs of the sea, if merchant vessels were captured and had

to be sunk, the crews must be carried ashore. To drown them was sheer piracy.

After the sinking of the *Lusitania* President Wilson solemnly warned the German Government that the United States would omit no act necessary to safeguard the lives of its citizens. A year later the *Sussex* was wrecked by a torpedo fired by a submarine lurking off the French coast. Eighty persons were killed or wounded, two of the wounded being Americans. The protests of the United States extorted from Germany a half-hearted promise not to repeat the deed.



A Submarine

Nevertheless, on January 31, 1917, the German Government gave notice that from the next day on its submarines would sink all ships sailing to or from the Allied coasts. President Wilson immediately broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Regardless of his warnings the Germans began sinking American vessels. Just at this time it was discovered that Germany had been trying to persuade the Mexican Government to attack the United States and attempt with German aid the reconquest of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

The American people were convinced that to yield to the threats of a foreign government would be to surrender their rights as an independent nation. They were ready to give a united support to President Wilson when, on April 2, he asked Congress to declare that the German attacks were

acts of war. They saw, as he said, that the war had become a struggle for liberty, for the freedom of each people, small or great to pursue its work in peace, threatened neither by ambitious princes, nor by nations eager to increase their power or enlarge their boundaries. Both Houses of Congress by large majorities declared war upon the German Imperial Government.

Approach of a Crisis. — "Hurry up, America!" was the call often heard in the spring and summer of 1917. The war had been going on for nearly three years, and a still decisive victory for the cause of the Allies seemed far away. In Belgium and northern France the battle lines had changed little since the autumn of 1914. The British and French armies drove the Germans back, yet slowly and at fearful cost. The Italians had made some progress along their northern frontier, although they had not reached Trent and Trieste. Serbia and Roumania were in a sad plight occupied by German, Austrian, and Bulgarian armies. The Allies, however, aided now by the Greeks, held the region around Salonika. In the north the situation was worse. The Russian armies, without supplies, defeated and disorganized, were ready to give up the fight. A revolution had broken out in Petrograd and had overthrown the Czar. The new government failed to rally the people or the troops to continue the struggle. It was only a question of time when the Germans would be able to transfer most of their forces from the eastern front to France and Belgium. Would the Allied troops be able to resist the fresh onset? Would America be in time to help?

Questions

1. Why was Germany willing to have a war? What did Germany wish to do in Turkey? Austria-Hungary in the Balkans? What was the "Berlin to Bagdad" plan of Germany?

2. Who in Germany had the power to begin a war? Did the Reichstag have all the powers of the English Parliament?

3. What pretext did Austria-Hungary find for having its way in the Balkans? Why did Russia become the champion of Serbia?

4. How did Serbia try to prevent a war? Great Britain? France?

5. Why did Great Britain enter the war? Why did Germany attack Belgium? Why did Italy refuse to help Germany and Austria-Hungary, her former allies?

6. Why did Germany's war plans at the beginning fail?

7. Why did Turkey and Bulgaria later join Germany and Austria-Hungary? Italy the Allies?

8. What advantage did the British and the French have on the seas? How did they combat the German submarines?

9. What methods of "frightfulness" did the Germans use on land and sea?

10. Why did the United States enter the war?

Exercises

1. Make a list of the nations that entered the war and the reasons of each for being at war.

2. Collect pictures of the new methods of fighting in the war.

Important Dates:

August 1, 1914. The beginning of the World War.
April 6, 1917. The United States enters the war.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD WAR

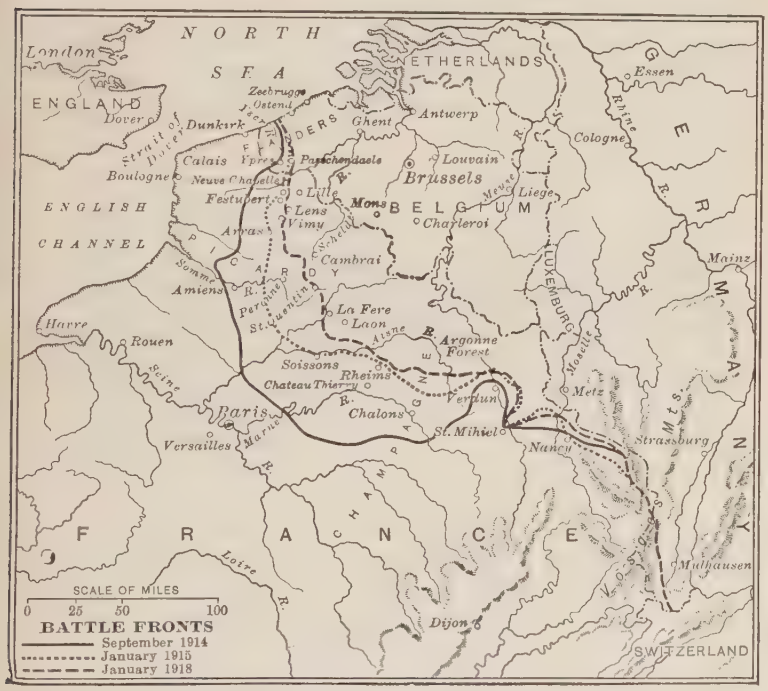
Preparations for the War. — It was one thing to declare war, but quite another to make ready to take part effectively in such a gigantic struggle of men and machines as had been going on in Europe for nearly three years. The task of preparing plans was given to a Council of National Defense, composed of members of the President's Cabinet and men drawn from private life. Among the many things they had to consider were transportation, munitions, food, clothing, medicine, and sanitation. Committees of business men, engineers, doctors, etc., were formed to aid the Council. Hundreds, even thousands, were eager to help, for the people were convinced that this was their war.

Sending Warships to Europe. — One of the first tasks of the United States was to assist the fleets of the Allies in protecting the merchant vessels which were carrying supplies, chiefly between Great Britain and France, or between the United States and Great Britain, France, and Italy. Scores of these vessels were being sunk every month by German submarines. Our Government, therefore, sent a large number of battleships, cruisers, and destroyers to European waters. Hundreds of smaller craft were hastily organized as a "mosquito fleet" and set to guarding the American coast trade against submarines. The work called for thousands of laborers, seamen, and gunners. Naval recruiting stations assembled these men and sent them to training stations where they were prepared for the new work.

Making a Great Army. — A second task was to enlarge and remodel the army. It was not enough to have men trained to use rifle, bayonet, and field gun. Mechanics, truck drivers, engineers, aviators, tank drivers, and flame and gas fighters

were just as important. The regular army in April, 1917, was a force of about 122,000 men. The state organizations, called the National Guard, barely 150,000, were summoned for national service.

The first step was to call for volunteers in order to increase the regular army and the national guard to about one million.



A much larger army than this being considered necessary, Congress adopted the "selective service" system. All men between the ages 21 and 31, later on between 18 and 45, were required to register. If they were not needed for work in important industries, they were called to the camps as fast as means of training could be provided. Before the war was ended more than 3,750,000 men had been added to the army.

The Training Camps. — Huge camps were built to train all these men. Offices, shops, barracks, exercise grounds, and

gun ranges were prepared at convenient places throughout the United States. Vast groups of buildings seemed to spring up like "boom" towns in the West. What in the spring was a field became by fall a bustling city of forty or fifty thousand men.

The camps were great schools for a new kind of national service. Special schools were provided for the training of officers. Sixteen were opened on May 15, 1917. There were also schools for aviators, schools of "fire" for gunners, schools for drivers of tanks, and for other equally necessary

A View of an American Training Camp

duties. There were even schools for recruits who had never had a chance to learn the English language, although they were already American citizens. Eighty per cent of the men in one regiment, in others fifty per cent, were of foreign birth. Whole companies were made up of Poles, or Russians, or Greeks, or Italians. All were eager to become well-trained American soldiers.

The Welfare of the Soldiers. — The plans of the camps included hospitals, theaters, libraries, club houses, and recreation grounds. The club houses were sometimes "huts" or canteens managed by the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, or the Young Men's Hebrew Association. They were sometimes "community houses" where the soldiers could meet their

relatives and friends. Games and athletic sports were provided in which the entire camp had a share. Part of this work was under the control of the War Department's Commission on Training Camp Activities.

Preparations in France. — Soon after the war began the Government announced that an army would be sent to France and that General John J. Pershing would be its commander. In June, 1917, he crossed the ocean to make ready for the arrival of the soldiers. As all the camps in France were crowded with French and British soldiers it was necessary for the Americans to build new camps. The wharfs and store-

Playing Games after Drill in an Army Camp

houses at the ports were enlarged in order to receive the great quantities of supplies which the soldiers would need. Locomotives and cars had to be sent from America, because the French railroads were already overworked. Hardly a thing done for the training camps at home but had to be done in France. The organizations which worked for the men in the United States worked for them in their French surroundings.

The first American soldiers reached France soon after General Pershing. They were instructed by British and French veterans in all the tricks of the enemy. This final training required about four months. On the night of October 23, a small body of these American troops took over from the French a section of the battle line. They were brigaded with the French; a battalion of the one, then a

battalion of the other. Batteries of American gunners were paired with French batteries.

Raising Food for All. — The soldiers at the front or in the camps were only part of the great army America was organizing to help win the war. The workmen in the mills and the farmers in the fields were equally needed. America was asked to send food to the Allies, for so many of the English, French, and Italian farmers had fallen in battle or were still fighting that food was scarce. To decide how much should be sent abroad and to see that the rest should be fairly distributed at home, the Government appointed Herbert C. Hoover as Food Administrator. He had already been very successful in distributing food among the suffering Belgians. In response to his appeals the American farmers endeavored in 1917 to increase their crops, and in 1918 to increase them still more. Boys and girls, as well as older persons, planted war gardens everywhere. The United States Department of Agriculture, the State Agricultural schools, and the County Agricultural agents pointed out how larger crops could be raised.

HERBERT HOOVER

It was necessary to make a careful use of the food which was produced. Cards were distributed telling what to save and what each one's share should be. Model kitchens were established in order that housewives could learn better how to save food.

One way to check waste of food was to fix certain days on which people were asked to eat no wheat either at home, or in restaurants, or in hotels. There were also meatless days. Bakers were required to mix other kinds of flour with wheat.

Limits were placed upon the amount of flour and sugar grocers could sell to a family. In a few cases the prices were fixed by an order of the Government.

Other Forms of Control. — It was equally important to have enough coal. Miners were urged to add millions of tons to the supply. An administrator was appointed to see that fuel was fairly distributed. The prices were fixed. The winter of 1917–1918 was very cold and there was not enough fuel to satisfy our own wants and to provide for the steamships which were plying between our ports and Europe. It became necessary to have "fuelless" days, when mills and stores were obliged to close.

JOHN J. PERSHING

To add to the supply of food and fuel was useless unless the railroads could carry the new burdens. More locomotives and cars were demanded. Trains must be more heavily loaded and sent to their destination by the shortest routes. All this required great sums of money. The business had to be directed from one office rather than from a hundred. The consequence was that the Government took control of the railroads and appointed a railroad administrator. Just before the armistice of November, 1918, the Government also assumed control of the telegraphs and telephones.

The Bridge of Ships. — The next task was to add ships. At the beginning of the war the United States had comparatively few. The British supplied many, but these were not enough. Ninety-nine German steamships which were in American ports were seized and used to carry men and supplies to Europe. For example, the giant steamship *Vaterland* became the *Leviathan*. Three huge Government

shipyards were established, and more than a hundred other yards on the Atlantic or Pacific coasts or on the Lakes were pressed into the work of constructing wooden or steel ships. Steamships built especially for the ore trade on the Lakes, and too large to pass through the Welland Canal, were cut in two parts, the open ends temporarily closed, the parts towed to the seaboard and there rejoined. The ship then took its place in the growing fleets of ocean liners.

By the middle of the summer of 1918 the United States and the Allies in Europe were building ships faster then the German submarines could sink them. The number of ships running between the United States and Europe made what the President said would be needed to win the war, a "bridge" to Europe.

Liberty Loans and War Savings Stamps. — The training camps, "the bridge of ships," and the supplies for the armies in Europe cost enormous sums of money. Besides these the Government was obliged to lend the Allies many millions with which to buy war material in the United States. It had cost about $12,000,000 a year to carry on the war for Independence, and about $1,200,000,000 a year to wage the war to maintain the Union, but the war against Germany cost the United States for the first year over $13,000,000,000. Congress increased the taxes so as to raise about one-third of the money. The rest of the people were asked to lend. In return they received Liberty Bonds, or, if the sums were small, War Savings Stamps. The Government asked for fourteen billion dollars; the people offered to lend nearly eighteen billion. This does not include more than one billion dollars' worth of War Savings Stamps which were bought. Citizens' committees, volunteer bodies of men and women, in every city and village of the land, rallied the rich and poor in the work of raising Liberty Loans. School children joined eagerly in saving to buy War Savings Stamps.

Women's Work in the War. — As the war went on all nations learned the value of woman's work. There were not enough men left to do all that was necessary in fields, mines,

and factories. Most of the work of the Red Cross fell to the share of women, especially nursing, making bandages, and preparing comforts for the soldiers. It has already been said that they joined in saving food and that they helped in raising money. Others went into the harvest fields and factories. There was no call for work which they were not ready to answer, no matter how heavy the task.

The Crisis at Hand. — As winter drew toward its close the Germans massed their forces for a final struggle. Their leaders were ready to sacrifice thousands of men if only they could win a victory so crushing that the Allies would be forced to make peace. They had more men than ever, because war-weary Russia, torn by new revolutions, had abandoned the fight, and it had become possible to transfer many German divisions from the Eastern to the Western front.

Ferdinand Foch

The Germans made their great attack on March 21, 1918, in Picardy, near St. Quentin, where the lines held by the British armies joined the French lines. At first they were successful, because the British were taken by surprise and were outnumbered three to one. The Germans swept on for thirty-seven miles until they were within sight of Amiens, a railroad center and supply station for the whole British line. Had they captured Amiens they might have pressed on toward the Channel or turned southward and captured Paris. The heroic efforts of British and French troops sent to reënforce their exhausted comrades stopped the advancing Germans and saved the cause.

The Allies learned a lesson from the nearness of disaster. It was the need of unity of command. This was an old

lesson, but very hard to apply when several nations act together, because each government naturally prefers to control its own troops. Nevertheless, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States now accepted General Foch, the new leader of the French armies, as the supreme commander of all the Allied armies. At the same time, as reënforcements were desperately needed, plans were made to hasten the transportation of men from the training camps in the United States to the front in France. The British Government lent hundreds of its ships to aid our Government in making the "bridge of ships" a reality. The United States had sent 50,000 men a month to Europe in 1917; it now increased the number to nearly 300,000 a month.

However, the Germans continued their tremendous drives against the Allies, hoping for victory before large American forces should arrive. In a second battle they attempted to crush the British army in Flanders. The "dogged pluck" of the British troops stopped the Germans, and the Channel ports were again saved. A third German blow struck the French line between Soissons and Rheims. A break here might open the road to Paris and perhaps force the French to make peace. The battle drove a third wedge or salient into the Allied line before the Germans were brought to a standstill. This time American troops had an important share in checking the enemy.

Château-Thierry. — At the time the German advance reached the Marne the United States had nearly a million men in France. Many of them were already well-trained soldiers. At the height of the battle on the Marne General Dickman was sent with American troops to the aid of the French. A brigade of marines was also sent. A desperate battle was fought in the neighborhood of the town of Château-Thierry. The Germans were repulsed; and the credit was due partly to the French, partly to the Americans.

The Tide of Battle turns. — In their repeated "drives" since March 21 the Germans had lost heavily in men and munitions. Nor could they longer fill such gaps. The

appearance of increasing numbers of Americans on the battle lines showed them that victory was now impossible.

The turn of the Allies came in the middle of July when the Germans attempted to break through the French and American lines south of the Marne, in other words to deepen the "pocket" which they had made between Soissons and Rheims. They had fought their way ahead only three or four miles when French and American armies further north, ordered by General Foch, threatened to close the mouth

Château-Thierry in July, 1918

of the pocket altogether. Nothing but a hurried retreat saved these German armies from capture.

From this time until the armistice was signed on November 11 General Foch never gave the Germans time to recover from one defeat before he inflicted another upon them. There was fighting all along the line from the Channel to Switzerland, but the hard blows fell first in the center, then far away on the left, again on the right. In August the British attacked the Germans in Picardy and steadily regained the ground they had lost in March. On the 12th and 13th of September American armies drove the Germans from an advanced position, or salient, which they had long held at St. Mihiel

and which endangered Verdun. In two days the Americans captured 15,000 men and recovered 200 square miles of territory.

The most difficult task given to the American armies was the expulsion of the Germans from the Argonne Forest. The whole region, made up of wooded hills, had been turned into a network of barbed wire, of concealed pits, of hidden machine guns, and of every other means of defense which the Germans could invent. The American losses were terrible, and yet they pressed on victoriously. West of the Argonne the French were constantly driving back the Germans. In northwestern France and Belgium the Belgians, Canadians, and British were equally victorious. Village after village, city after city, tortured by four years of German rule, was delivered. By the end of the first week in November the advance of the French and the Americans from the south, and of the British and Belgians from the west threatened half the German armies with destruction.

Other German Disasters. — Meanwhile the news from Germany's allies was bad. Early in September the Bulgarians, exhausted, had given up the fight. The Turks were in no better plight. Months before a British and Arab army under General Allenby had captured Jerusalem. Now these same forces had captured two Turkish armies and had taken Damascus and Aleppo. The Turks thereupon asked for an armistice. Austria-Hungary, Germany's only other ally, was soon overcome and forced to cease fighting.

The Armistice. — The German plan of conquering Europe had failed dismally. Part of the German armies were caught in a vise. The German people were beginning to revolt. Rather than face a worse disaster the German Government accepted the terms imposed by the Allies and the United States. This took place on November 11, 1918, a memorable day in the history of mankind.

By the terms of the armistice the Germans agreed to withdraw from Belgium and France, including Alsace-Lorraine, as well as from all other foreign territory in any part of Europe

which they had overrun. They were to surrender immense numbers of guns, aëroplanes, locomotives, and freight cars. The Allied armies were to occupy German territory as far as the Rhine. A large part of the German fleet was to be interned in neutral or Allied harbors. The final terms of peace were left to a Peace Congress which was to meet in Paris.

Revolution in Germany. — As the war ended the German people turned in anger against the leaders who had brought disaster upon them. The Socialists seized the government. The Emperor, William II, and the Crown Prince, were forced to abdicate. Fearing for their lives they took refuge in Holland. In the different states of Germany the kings, princes, and dukes were deposed, and republican governments established. In Austria-Hungary somewhat similar changes had already taken place. The Czechs or Bohemians, who had been an independent people in the Middle Ages, joined with the Moravians and Slovaks to form the Czecho-Slovak republic. The Jugo- or South Slavs joined with Serbia in forming a large state in southern Europe. Other subjects of Austria or Hungary — Italians, Roumanians, and Poles — joined their kindred in neighboring countries — Italy, Roumania, the Ukraine, or Poland — without waiting for the Peace Congress to decide their fate.

Steps toward Peace. — With the armistice of November 11 fighting ceased, but peace was not fully restored. The German ports were still blockaded, and that part of the country west of the Rhine was occupied by French, British, and American troops. Many questions had to be decided before a treaty of peace could be made and all peoples could take up again their ordinary tasks. To talk over these questions a conference was called at Paris. The leading delegates who attended the conference were the prime ministers of France, Great Britain, and Italy, and the President of the United States. This was the first time an American president had visited a foreign land during his term of office.

The three most important subjects before the conference

were "reparation," new boundaries, and a league of nations. By the terms of the armistice the Germans had agreed to make "reparation," that is, pay for the ruin their armies had spread through Belgium and northern France. To do this would cost huge sums of money, and it was difficult to find out how much the Germans could pay and how long a time they should be allowed in which to pay it. Another difficult question was the new boundaries of Europe. The states which had been created or restored during the war, like Czechoslovakia and Poland, or those which were to receive additions of territory, like Serbia and Roumania, must have their new frontiers marked out. Indeed the whole map of Europe was to be redrawn.

Not only must peace be made, but steps must be taken to guard against the outbreak of new wars. For this purpose the victorious nations were to decide whether they would unite in a league, and whether they would share their task of maintaining peace with the peoples which had so recently been their enemies.

The Peace Treaties. — The Peace Conference might have put all its decisions on these questions into a single great treaty, because the war was a single struggle, although many nations had fought and on fields widely separated. But the members of the conference concluded to prepare a treaty for each of the five enemy states. The treaty with the Germans was first in importance, for Germany had been the leader of the Central Powers. Two treaties were needed for what had been the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Most of its territory had been divided between Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, and Jugoslavia. All that was left were two small republics, Austria and Hungary. Bulgaria and Turkey made up the five.

The Conference met on January 18, 1919, but May 7 came before the terms were ready for the Germans, and June 28 before the complete treaty was signed. This was the fifth anniversary of the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The ceremony of signature took place at Ver-

sailles, in the famous "Hall of Mirrors," where the German Empire had been proclaimed in the closing days of the Franco-Prussian War.

Many months passed before the other treaties were completed. It turned out to be harder to reconstruct the Old World than even the wisest had suspected. And after the treaties were signed their terms were not carried out immediately, because they meant the change of so many territories from one flag to another and the payment of enormous sums of money by peoples which had used up most of their wealth in waging war. Some of the states to which the treaties had added a good deal of territory were still dissatisfied and would not stop fighting until they had received more.

According to the treaty with Germany lands which the Germans had taken from their neighbors were to be restored if the inhabitants wished to return to their old allegiance. In several cases the people were asked to vote on the question and such a vote was called a plebiscite. In other cases a vote was held to be unnecessary. Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France. Lands which had been part of the old kingdom of Poland, and a majority of whose population was Polish, were given to the new republic of Poland. In northern and central Schleswig a plebiscite decided that the north should unite with Denmark and that the central district should remain German. In all the treaty took from Germany territory nearly as large as the state of Ohio.

Reparation. — The Members of the Conference were unable to agree upon the amount of damage which the Germans had done during the war or upon the sum they should be required to pay. A special commission was given the task of deciding these questions by May 1, 1921. The amount decided upon, payable within thirty years, was thirty-three billion dollars. Part of the payment was to be taken in ships, coal, dyestuffs, and other products. The French received immediately the coal mines of the Sarre Valley, just north of Lorraine. To pay the rest in money it would be necessary

for the Germans to sell the products of their industry to other nations, and this would be difficult because the territory which they had lost contained a large part of their iron mines and much of their coal. The war had destroyed their trade with the outside world.

The other treaties were mostly concerned with boundaries. It was especially hard to draw these in eastern Europe where so many peoples are intermingled. The most difficult problem of all was to find some method of preventing new wars.

The League of Nations. — The members of the Peace Conference decided that the first part of the peace treaties should contain articles uniting the Allies in a League of Nations, which neutral states should be invited to join. It was planned that Germany and the other Central Powers should eventually enter the League.

The members of this League agreed not to begin war upon any state until the Council of the League or a Court of Arbitration had time to decide whether the quarrel had any real basis and whether it could not be settled peacefully. If a state did start a war, in spite of this pledge, the members of the League promised not to trade with it. They were then to decide whether they should send their armies and navies as policemen of the world to preserve peace.

The states which had united in the war against Germany, with the exception of the United States, decided to accept this part of the treaties also and to join in the League. Many neutral states also joined.

The treaties had to be ratified by the legislatures or parliaments of the different countries. According to the Constitution of the United States ratification depends upon the consent of two-thirds of the Senate. From the beginning many senators refused to pledge the United States to take the part in the affairs of Europe which the treaty implied. President Wilson explained that it would be better to unite with all well-disposed peoples in preventing war than to watch until the struggle became so terrible that we could no longer remain netural. His opponents replied that the

promises of the League meant that American soldiers would be sent to guard any frontier which might happen to be attacked. They felt that leaders of European states often had aims with which Americans did not sympathize, but which it would be difficult to oppose openly without serious offense. The controversy dragged on for months, but the Senate in March, 1920, finally rejected the treaty.

Homeward Bound. — Long before the Peace Conference opened the return of the American army began. By the terms of the armistice only a small part of it was required to occupy the German territory about Coblenz. The others could go home as soon as ships could be provided.

The task was immense, for there were two million American soldiers in Europe. One great obstacle had disappeared. The danger of submarine attack was over. The Government did not at first have transports enough. In sending the soldiers to Europe it had secured the help of many British transports, but these were needed now to take back Canadians, Australians, and South Africans. Fortunately scores of cargo vessels, which as long as the war lasted had to carry munitions and other supplies, could be utilized as transports. The work of refitting them was pushed forward so vigorously that many were ready in a month. Battleships and cruisers were also used to bring the soldiers home. Half a million had returned by the end of March, 1919. In the month of May alone over 330,000 came back, or 25,000 more than had been taken across in any month of the war.

The soldiers were eagerly awaited by their fellow-citizens. In many cities returning regiments marched through the streets hailed by throngs which filled the sidewalks and windows of the houses. In New York a triumphal arch was erected at the junction of Fifth Avenue and Broadway. Under this arch and up Fifth Avenue the returning New York divisions marched.

Questions

1. What part did the American navy have in the war?
2. How did the United States make a great army?
3. How did the United States train the men for the new army? What organizations helped the officers in caring for the soldiers? What was done for the welfare of the men?
4. What preparations were necessary in France?
5. What part did the American people at home have in the European war? What part did the women and children take?
6. How did the United States secure food, fuel, ships, and money for the war?
7. Where did American soldiers have a large share in the fighting of the last year of the war?
8. What changes in government took place in Germany and Austria-Hungary toward the end of the war?
9. What were the terms of the armistice?
10. What important questions were discussed at the Paris Peace Conference?
11. What lands did Germany and Austria-Hungary lose in the treaty of peace? What was done about the payment of damages or reparation? What did the nations who joined the League of Nations agree to do?

Exercises

1. Prepare from this chapter a list of the tasks of the United States in getting ready for the war.
2. Secure pictures of the training camps.
3. Obtain a story of the experience of a sailor on a merchant ship torpedoed by a German submarine.
4. Secure one or more stories of the share of the American navy in the war. Also of American soldiers.
5. Make a map locating the American battles in the war.

Important Date.

November 11, 1918. The end of the World War.

CHAPTER XLIX

AFTER THE WAR

Tasks of Peace. — The soldiers who had fought in France, as well as their comrades in the forts and camps of the United States, were as eager to return to the tasks of peace as had been the armies of the Civil War. But they found a different situation. In 1865 there was plenty of work for all. The West was still unsettled, vast public lands were to be turned into farms, railroads to be built, and goods to be manufactured for the new communities. Long before 1918 work of this kind had been done, and American farmers and manufacturers had learned to supply not only their own home market but also to send immense quantities of goods to Europe and to Asia. The war had made Europe poor. The warring nations had spent all the money they had or could borrow in destroying one another. They could buy American goods only if American bankers would lend them the money to pay the bill. This meant that sooner or later the returned soldier might not find employment.

The situation was the more unpleasant because as long as the war lasted the demand for American products had been greater than ever before. During the early part of the war, when the United States was the only great nation at peace, all the world seemed to be clamoring for American goods. The riches of Europe were poured out upon American farms and factories. The workman's wages doubled, and the farmer received more than twice as much for his cotton and his wheat. This went on after we entered the war, for then the American government lent its European Allies the money to continue their purchases. Business was swelled to undreamed of proportions. This was called "inflation." Then came the armistice and peace. For a time it seemed

as if trade would remain as brisk as ever, because the starving millions of Europe needed food. Much was also called for to replace goods destroyed during the war. Prices did not fall; indeed, in the early part of 1920 there seemed no limit to what dealers might charge. About that time the demand from Europe slackened, and the ordinary householder in America made up his mind to buy as little as possible until prices came down. This was called the "Buyers' strike." The swollen trade now began to shrink, and the painful process of "deflation" set in.

The farmer was perhaps the worst sufferer. In December, 1919, he had obtained $2.15 for a bushel of wheat, and two years later he could get only ninety-three cents. The cotton grower got thirty-five cents a pound in 1920, and only eleven cents the next year. Unfortunately for the farmer the clothing and tools which he required had not decreased in price so much. His misfortune is sometimes described in this way. In 1919 his dollar was worth $1.12, while in 1921 it was worth only eighty-four cents. Now as about half of the American people are still farmers the suffering was widespread.

While multitudes felt poor, the taxes remained heavy. The expenditures of the Government from July 1, 1919 to July 1, 1920, the first full year of peace, were over six billion dollars, six times the expenditures before the War began. The public debt amounted to thirty-five billions, and the interest upon this debt was greater than all the expenditures of the Government in 1914. No wonder that the taxes remained high.

The War left two special questions for the Government to answer. In order to forward men and munitions as rapidly as possible to our ports and across the ocean, the government had taken charge of the railroads and had built hundreds of ships. It was not difficult to return the railroads to their owners, and this was done in 1920. The ships could not be returned to owners, for the government itself was the owner. Many more had been built than were needed in time of peace. Five years after the war closed the

government still owned more than twelve hundred steamships. Nine hundred of these were anchored in port with nothing to do. There was a brighter side to the picture. Not many years before few ships except on the Great Lakes or in the coasting trade flew the American flag. The bulk of our exports and imports were carried in foreign vessels. Even before the war a change had begun, and during the war it became rapid. By 1920 and 1921 nearly half of America's foreign trade was borne in American ships, and the Stars and Stripes were flying on all the "Seven Seas." Americans could sail for Europe or for Asia in ships owned and managed by their own Government. The most popular of these was the giant Leviathan which had carried so many thousand soldiers to France during the war and had brought them back after the armistice.

The Election of Warren G. Harding. — Before it had finally been decided whether the Senate would ratify the Treaty of Versailles, including the "Covenant" establishing a League of Nations, President Wilson's health broke down and for a time his life was in danger. He was deeply disappointed by the final action of the Senate rejecting the Treaty, and continued to urge the American people to accept membership in the League as one of the tasks proper for so great and influential a nation. The controversy became one of the issues in the election of 1920. The Democrats, with James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio, as their candidate, advocated entry into the League. The Republicans nominated Senator Warren G. Harding, also of Ohio. While not a few promi-

Warren G. Harding

nent Republicans were in favor of membership in the League, the party as a whole opposed it. Senator Harding won the election by a very large majority.

How a Nation can Save Money. — One of the first tasks of the new President was the reduction of expenses. The best way for an individual to stop spending too much is to keep a careful account of what he expects to receive and of what he is obliged to pay. If well managed families succeed in this way, why should not a great nation follow so good a rule? The governments of Europe had long been accustomed to put the list of their receipts and of their expenditures in the same statement or budget, which was laid before the legislatures months before the year began to which the budget should apply. This gave time for discussion and for necessary changes. The American government had never done this. Each department had made a statement of its own needs. These statements, together with proposals for taxation had been in the hands of many different committees, and it had been nobody's business to bring them all together in a single budget for careful comparison. Neither the Congressman nor the ordinary voter could see exactly how the account stood and whether any particular expenditure was wise.

In June, 1921, a law was passed providing for a budget and enabling the President to appoint a Director. The President selected General Charles G. Dawes, who during the latter part of the war had been given the task of managing expenditures for supplies of all the armies in France. The President meant to obtain a clear statement of receipts and expenditures for the year 1922–1923, to be submitted to Congress when it should meet in December 1921. This would give time enough for discussion before the new financial year began. He meant also that money already appropriated by Congress should not be spent unless it was needed. The new Bureau of the Budget was to do these two things. With its assistance the President became the business head of the vast administrative system of the United States, to enable the government's business to be carried

on with more efficiency and economy. In a few months the saving under the new system amounted to millions.

Immigration. — One consequence of the World War was a change in the American immigration laws. During the war few immigrants had been able to come to the United States. From a million the number dropped to three hundred, later to one hundred, thousand. When peace came the number began to mount again. Congress then passed a law, declaring that the number of persons from any country was to be determined by the number of persons of the same country here in 1910. The newcomers could not be in any year more than three one-hundredths of those here at that time. The reason for narrowing the gateway into the United States was the fact that millions might seek a refuge here from the war-swept regions of Europe. Should they remain at home they might expect heavy burdens of taxation. They might also fear that even if they were able to carry this burden the old, half-settled quarrels might break out again, and a new war more dreadful than the last would drag them down into utter ruin. The American people would once have gladly held the door wide open to such persons, but at that time there were millions of acres of unoccupied land in the West which could be had for hardly more than the labor of bringing them under cultivation. Moreover, as we have seen, the immigrants had more and more been crowding into the great cities and manufacturing towns. There they had to struggle with workers already at hand, and the result often was unemployment and misery either for the newcomer or for those who had been here longer. If there should be a great rush from Europe to the shores of the United States the consequence might be that all might be reduced to a common level of misery.

Another purpose of the law was to give the preference in admitting immigrants to those who came from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian lands, more nearly related to the earlier groups of immigrants to America. This law, which was passed in 1921, worked so well, that it was made still more strict three years later. The number for

any country now depended upon the number present in 1890, before many had entered the United States from southeastern Europe. The total number of immigrants was soon to be reduced to 150,000 in any year. To the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland nearly two thirds of the whole number were assigned. One part of the law offended the Japanese, who had agreed in 1907 to send over no more Japanese laborers. Now the Japanese were excluded by law, rather than as a result of friendly agreement, unless they came as students, teachers, or merchants.

A Naval Holiday. — During the World War so dreadful had been the destruction of life and property that the cry arose, "This must be the last war." The organization of a League of Nations had been one of the plans to prevent the outbreak of new wars. Another plan was disarmament, for every one knew that the rivalry of European peoples in building fleets and in training armies had been one of the principal causes of the World War. The surrender of the German High Seas Fleet ten days after the armistice seemed to mean an end of rivalry on the sea, for only the Allied fleets were left. The German High Seas Fleet was composed of seventy ships, five of them battle cruisers and nine dreadnoughts. On the same day or the day before forty submarines were surrendered. This fleet which ranked second in the world was not only surrendered, it was destroyed. It was taken to Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands, to remain until it was decided what should be done with the ships. Several of the Allied governments wished the ships divided, which would make the naval strength of each greater. It was said that President Wilson meant that they should be taken out to sea and sunk, for he believed that it would be a poor move toward peace to strengthen all the great navies of the world. The German sailors who had been left on board their ships in order to care for them ended the debate, for just before the Peace of Versailles was signed they pulled the seacocks of all the vessels and sank them.

The most powerful fleets which still remained belonged to Great Britain, the United States, and to Japan. Each of

these governments had during the war planned great increases in ships. For more than a hundred years the British navy had been stronger than any other, much of the time stronger than the navies of any two other governments. But if the United States carried out its naval programme of 1916 its fleet would in a few years rival that of Great Britain. Japan was also building rapidly, in order to maintain her supremacy in the Far East. Many feared that the old struggle for naval strength which had been carried on between Great Britain and Germany was to be repeated on a larger scale between the three countries which had been allies in the recent war. Some already declared that a war between America and Japan was inevitable. Then President Harding and his Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, proposed a remedy. They formed the plan of a naval holiday during which rivalry in building should cease. For this purpose they called a conference at Washington in 1921.

The Washington Conference. — It was an interesting group of men who met on November 11, Armistice Day, in the Continental Memorial Hall at Washington. The head of the Japanese delegates was Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, whose ancestors for two hundred and fifty years had ruled over Japan in the name of the Mikado or Emperor. The leader of the British delegation was Arthur Balfour, formerly prime minister. A prime minister and an ex-prime minister were members of the French delegation, — Aristide Briand and René Viviani. China was one of the other nations represented, because one of the purposes of the Conference was to settle questions about the rights of China which had led to serious controversies between other countries, especially between the Japanese and the Americans.

With the support of President Harding, Secretary Hughes declared that the Conference had met not to adopt resolutions and offer advice but to *act*. He said that he was authorized by President Harding to propose not only that no "Capital ships," that is, battle cruisers, battleships, or dreadnoughts, should be built for ten years, but also that most of those which were already begun or nearing comple-

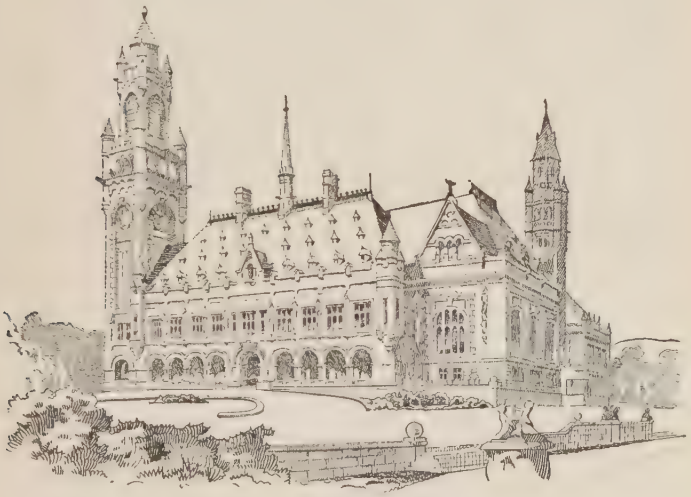
tion should be "scrapped." Some older ships should also be scrapped. The United States, he explained, was willing to set the example by scrapping ships which had thus far cost over three hundred million dollars. The delegates of Great Britain and Japan listened with astonishment to Secretary Hughes's proposals, because he showed such complete knowledge of their navies, but especially because he had pointed out how all could lessen their number of ships and reduce their expenditure upon building without endangering the defense of their countries. Secretary Hughes also proposed that when the ships now in the navies should need to be replaced the three rival navies of Great Britain, the United States, and of Japan should be in the proportion to one another of 5–5–3. This meant that the American and the British navies would be equal and the Japanese navy about three-fifths the size of the other two. The navies of France and Italy were to be about half the size of the Japanese navy, for that was their present size. So practical was this plan that with slight changes it was adopted by the Conference.

The Conference did not succeed in limiting the number of cruisers or of submarines. The British, remembering how the German submarines had destroyed hundreds of their vessels during the war, wanted to forbid the use of submarines. The French, however, claimed that they were useful to nations which did not have as many capital ships as did the British or the Americans. The French also refused to put any limits upon the number of cruisers.

An equally important result of the Conference was a series of treaties agreeing to restore to China the management of her own affairs, which European governments and later Japan had many times interfered with. Great Britain, France, the United States and Japan agreed that when any question came up about rights in the Pacific lands bordering on the Pacific Ocean which might lead to quarrels a new conference should be held in order to settle the matter in a friendly way.

The Debts of the Allies. — By 1923 the debts of the

Allies to the United States amounted to ten billion dollars. Several of them felt that because they had all been fighting for a common purpose these debts should be forgotten. They believed that the American taxpayer was rich enough to pay the interest on their loans as well as on his own. The fact was that they had suffered from the war far more than the Americans. Several of them had issued so much paper money to pay their bills at home that their money



THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE
A gift of Andrew Carnegie for the use of The Hague Tribunal and for international conferences

was not worth more than a third or a fourth of what it had been before the war. This made the debt to America look much larger than it otherwise would have done. Great Britain was the first of the Allies to begin the payment of her debt. In 1923 it was agreed that this should be made in sixty-two annual installments.

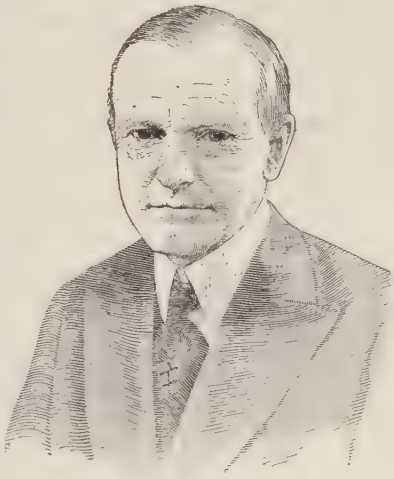
A Court for the Nations. — Many disputes between nations, as well as between individuals, have been decided by courts. At times these have been courts of arbitration, that is, a body of men selected by those in dispute to decide

questions where the facts as well as the application of the rules of International Law should be ascertained according to the careful methods characteristic of courts of justice. For many years there has been a Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in the Netherlands. A beautiful building was given by an American, Andrew Carnegie, for its meetings. It has done useful work, but thoughtful persons believed that a new and better organized court could accomplish more. Such a court was provided for in the Treaty of Versailles, and the Council of the League of Nations appointed a committee to draw up a plan, naming as one of its members Elihu Root, a distinguished American lawyer, who had been Secretary of State in President Roosevelt's second cabinet. The plan of the new court, called the Permanent Court of International Justice, was accepted by over thirty different nations and the Court was organized in January, 1922. One of the eleven judges was an American, James Brown Scott, noted for his knowledge of the Law of Nations.

Although President Harding opposed the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations he urged that the Government should have a share in the new Court. This required the consent of the Senate, and for several years the Senate refused to act. Several Senators asserted that this would be at least part membership in the League of Nations.

Death of President Harding. — This question had not been decided when the President died. He had been on a long journey to Alaska, the first time a President had visited that important territory. The fatigues of the journey were, however, too great. The news of his death at San Francisco on August 2, 1923, reached the Vice-President, Calvin Coolidge, at Plymouth, Vermont, his native town, and he immediately took the oath of office as President. He declared that he would carry out the policies which President Harding had adopted. He was especially desirous of reducing expenditures and so lessening taxation. He held that to waste dollars was to waste the people who were obliged to earn them and then to pay them in taxes.

Europe and the Dawes Plan. — The commission which received from the Treaty of Versailles the task of deciding how much Germany was to pay in reparations decided on May 1, 1921, that the sum should be thirty-two billion dollars, a stupendous amount. Germany began to make payments, but after two years the German Government became bankrupt and the German mark worthless. The French, believing that the Germans could pay if they would, occupied the Ruhr Valley, the greatest manufacturing region of Germany, and began to seize coal, iron, and other products. Great Britain was opposed to this method. Secretary Hughes said publicly that if those states most interested in reparations from Germany would ask a committee of business men and financiers to form a plan for obtaining them the United States would help in reaching a wise decision. The French finally agreed, and Charles G. Dawes was chosen as the chairman of the chief committee. The plan that this committee formed in 1924 was called the Dawes Plan, and the Germans accepted it. Within a few months one of the most difficult questions disturbing the world was settled.



CALVIN COOLIDGE

Election of 1924. — At the presidential election of 1924 President Coolidge became the candidate of the Republicans and John W. Davis the candidate of the Democrats. Charles G. Dawes was the Republican candidate for Vice-President. Many workmen and farmers thought that neither party was mindful of their interests. These men united with the Socialists and nominated Senator Robert M. LaFollette as

candidate of the "Progressives." The Republicans won the election, Coolidge receiving the largest popular vote ever cast for a President.

America's Task. — The wiser American leaders, of whatever party, believe that although much has been accomplished other tasks remain. They desire to make their country more than ever a land of opportunity for all her sons and daughters. They talk of adding to the national domain by irrigating waste lands, draining the marshes, or replanting the forests. They propose new methods of organizing industry in order that employer and employee shall have a stronger interest in the success of the enterprise.

There is still another task. All have had a share in the government of our country, but many have been too eager to organize industries, or manage trade, or open mines, to do their full share as citizens of a self-governing nation. Without the help of all, the government of even a republic may fall into the hands of a few. The task here is one of "conservation," guarding the liberties won by men of past generations. It is also one of progress, that the life of cities may be more wholesome, that the rewards of work in city and country may be distributed more fairly, and that justice and brotherhood may be the watchword alike of city, state and nation.

Questions

1. What problems did the United States have in returning to peace conditions? What is meant by "deflation" and who suffered from it? Why did taxes remain high?

2. What became of President Wilson's "Bridge of Ships?"

3. What was the Senate's final decision on the League of Nations? What remained President Wilson's attitude? How did the question enter into the election of 1920?

4. How are budgets of governments formed? What had been the American custom in this matter? What did the new Bureau of the Budget accomplish?

5. Why did the United States change the rule about the admission of immigrants? How did this affect American relations with Japan?

6. Why is a "race for armaments" dangerous? What was the "naval holiday" Secretary Hughes persuaded the nations represented at the Washington Conference to adopt?

7. What was the controversy about debts of the Allies? What did Great Britain agree to do in this matter?

8. What action did President Harding desire the United States to take about the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague?

9. What controversy did the Allies have about reparations from Germany? How did the United States help in reaching a settlement?

10. Why was President Coolidge so anxious that the Government should practice careful economy?

Exercises

1. Make a list of prices of wheat, corn, sugar, potatoes, suits of clothes for men and for women in 1913, placing beside each price the price of 1919. Learn the wages of carpenters and bricklayers for 1913 and 1919.

2. List the numbers of immigrants from the countries of Europe for 1913 and the numbers for 1923.

3. List the debts of the various Allied countries to the United States. Why were these debts contracted? How much money would be required each year to pay the interest at 4%?

4. State the reason given in President Coolidge's inaugural address for economy in Government expenditures.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY

1776. The English colonies declared their independence of Great Britain, and at the same time took steps to secure aid from France, and to form a permanent union.

1778. France formed an alliance with the united colonies, supplying them with money and assisting them further with her navy and army in the war against Great Britain for independence.

1781. The Continental Congress had drawn up a constitution, the Articles of Confederation, and submitted it to the thirteen states. They adopted the new government which joined them together as the United States with a Congress as the chief organ of government.

1783. Great Britain agreed to a treaty of peace with the United States and her ally, France, recognizing the independence of her former colonies and their union as the United States.

1783–89. Period of the Confederation. The United States included a total area of 892,135 square miles. About 3,250,000 people lived in the new republic. Of these only a few thousand lived west of the mountains. One-fifth of the people of the United States were negro slaves.

The states with western lands gave up most of them to the United States, to be used for the benefit of all the people. Congress adopted for these lands a system of surveying into townships, sections, and quarters, and began the practice of using a portion of the land for the support of education. In 1787, by the so-called "Ordinance of 1787," Congress adopted a form of government for its territories in the West, made promises about the admission of these into the Union, and other promises to the inhabitants about their rights.

In 1787 a convention at Philadelphia framed a new Constitution for the United States. This Constitution gave the United States more power and created three branches of government — a Congress, a President, and a Supreme Court — in place of the one-house Congress of the Articles of Confederation. Eleven states adopted this, and, although North Carolina and Rhode Island did not yet do so, abandoned the old constitution for the new one. The new government was organized in March and April, 1789.

1789–97. George Washington, First President. Under the new Constitution it was the duty of men called electors to choose the President and

Vice-President. In some states the people chose the electors, in others the state legislatures chose them. The first body of electors voted unanimously for General Washington of Virginia for President. They chose John Adams of Massachusetts Vice-President, though not by a unanimous vote. Ten amendments guarding the rights of the people and the states were adopted in December, 1791. In 1792 Washington was again chosen President and John Adams Vice-President. While Washington was President five states were admitted to the Union. These were North Carolina in 1789, Rhode Island in 1790, Vermont in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796, making at this time 16 states in the Republic. In 1790 the first census or count of the population was taken. It showed a total of almost 4,000,000 people in the United States Of these about 110,000 lived west of the mountains. Out of every 100 inhabitants three lived in cities. It required the greater part of Washington's first term and much of his second to organize the new government and decide upon its policies. Two questions were the payment of state debts and the creation of a Bank of the United States. It was not long before his advisers and even the people as a whole were divided into two political parties over these questions. One party was called the Federalist and the other the Democratic or Republican party. Washington preferred the views of the Federalists. Hamilton and Adams were the real leaders of the Federalists. Jefferson and Madison were the leaders of the Republicans. Washington refused to be a candidate for a third term.

1797–1801. JOHN ADAMS. The electors were closely divided between the Federalist candidate, John Adams, and the Republican, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia. Adams had a majority of three votes. In those days the one receiving the next number became Vice-President. An eleventh amendment on the powers of the Supreme Court was adopted in 1798. The Federalists had trouble with France, and were obliged to prepare for war. This led them to pass laws for heavy taxes and other laws like the Alien and Sedition Acts. Both kinds of laws were unpopular with the majority of the people.

1801–09. THOMAS JEFFERSON. In the election in 1800 the Republican electors had a clear majority. It happened, however, that their two candidates, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Aaron Burr of New York, had the same number of votes. The House of Representatives had to decide the question which of them should be President. It chose Thomas Jefferson. Burr became Vice-President. After this experience a twelfth amendment was passed in 1804, changing the method of voting for President and Vice-President, so that the electors should vote separately for each. One new state, Ohio, was admitted in 1803. In the same year Jefferson purchased Louisiana for $15,000,000. As Louisiana had an area of 827,987 square miles, the cost was about three cents an acre. Jefferson was so popular that he obtained a great majority in the election in

1804. George Clinton of New York became Vice-President. Jefferson's last years as President were made unhappy by the troubles with England and France, and the necessity of taking measures to protect American rights and trade. Jefferson, like Washington, refused to be a candidate for a third term. He wished his Secretary of State, James Madison of Virginia, to succeed him as President, and such a wish counted with his Republican followers.

1809–17. James Madison. Madison became President in 1809. The Republicans were still in a great majority over the Federalists. George Clinton was reëlected Vice-President. The population of the country was increasing rapidly. In the census of 1800 it was 5,308,483. In the census of 1810 it was a third larger, or 7,239,881. Two years later, 1812, Louisiana was admitted as a state in the Union, making the eighteenth state.

In June, 1812, war was begun with England. An election occurred during the war. Madison was reëlected President. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was Vice-President. War measures formed the chief subject of laws until 1815. In 1816 a second Bank of the United States was chartered, and a new state, Indiana, taken into the Union. The Federalist party had nearly broken up, and in the election of this year was able to offer almost no opposition to the Republican candidate.

1817–25. James Monroe. Monroe had been Madison's Secretary of State, and had the President's support in the election. Monroe, too, was from Virginia. It looked as though Virginia had a monopoly in furnishing Presidents. The new Vice-President was Daniel D. Tompkins of New York. Beginning with the admission of Indiana, in 1816, one new state was added each year for six years until there were altogether twenty-four states. The new ones were Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821. First one from the South, and then one from the North, each time keeping the balance even. A great compromise upon slavery was made with the entrance of Maine and Missouri: this was that the remaining territory of the Louisiana Purchase should be divided; that the portion north of the line 36° 30′ was never to allow slavery, while that south might. Monroe was reëlected in 1820. His opponent received only one electoral vote. Tompkins was also again chosen Vice-President. In 1819 the United States purchased Florida — a territory of 72,101 square miles, but sparsely settled — from Spain for about $5,000,000. The census of 1820 showed that the population was 9,638,453, or about three times that of 1783. Now more than 2,250,000 people lived west of the Alleghany Mountains. The event of Monroe's administration most often remembered was the announcement in 1823 that the United States would oppose any effort of European countries either to establish any new colonies in North or South America or any interference with the freedom of the states already formed there. This was the Monroe Doctrine.

1825–29. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. When the election of 1824 came on the Federalist party had almost entirely disappeared. The Republican party was divided into several factions, each supporting its favored leader. The vote for Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams was very close. Neither had a majority of all the votes cast for President. The House of Representatives for a second time decided the question, electing Adams. He was a son of the second President, and, like his father, was from Massachusetts. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina became Vice-President. Adams had been Monroe's Secretary of State. He was greatly interested in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine and promoting the building of roads and canals.

1829–37. ANDREW JACKSON. The friends of Andrew Jackson thought he had been cheated out of the Presidency in 1824, and bent every effort to secure his election in 1828. The Republicans gradually divided into two parties, the followers of Jackson and of Adams and Clay. Jackson was triumphant and Calhoun was again elected Vice-President. The followers of Jackson were coming to be known by their other name, Democrats, and began to drop the name Republicans. The followers of Adams took the name Whigs. In the election of 1832 the candidates for President were nominated, not as formerly by a caucus of the members of each party in Congress, but by a national convention of delegates from the states. Jackson was very popular with the people and was easily reëlected. Martin Van Buren of New York became Vice-President. The census of 1830 reported a population of 12,866,020. Two states, the 25th and the 26th, Arkansas in 1836 and Michigan in 1837, came in during Jackson's administration. Jackson wished his party to make the Vice-President his successor as President, and his will prevailed.

1837–41. MARTIN VAN BUREN. In 1836 the Democrats were again successful. Besides Van Buren as President, they chose Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky Vice-President. Van Buren's party was blamed for the panic of 1837, and so for the first time in over thirty years was defeated in the next election.

1841–45. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON and JOHN TYLER. The Whig candidates in 1840 were William Henry Harrison of Ohio for President, and John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President. The census gave a population of 17,069,453. Harrison died four weeks after he became President. Tyler at once became President, to serve out the term. Just before Tyler's term ended in 1845, it was decided to annex Texas. This was the addition of 389,166 square miles of territory. Florida, which was admitted about the same time, and Texas made twenty-eight states in the Union.

1845–49. JAMES K. POLK. The Whig triumph was of short duration. In 1845 the Democrats elected their candidate, James K. Polk of Tennessee President, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania Vice-President. The greater part of President Polk's single term as President was taken up with

the trouble with Mexico which ended in war. Iowa was admitted in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848. These again made equal the number of states with slavery and those without slavery. By a treaty with Great Britain in 1846 the United States retained part of the Oregon Country, 286,541 square miles. At the end of the Mexican War 529,189 square miles more territory were acquired. This included California and the territory from which Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado and New Mexico have been formed. In the treaty which ended the war and provided for the annexation of the southwestern region, the United States paid Mexico a little over $15,000,000.

1849–50. Zachary Taylor. The Whigs were successful in the election of 1848. They had named as their candidate one who had become a hero in the Mexican War, General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana. Millard Fillmore of New York was their candidate for Vice-President. President Taylor died in 1850, a year and four months after his term began. The Vice-President for the second time in American history became President by the death of the President.

1850–53. Millard Fillmore. In 1850 there were 23,191,876 people in the United States. The year 1850 was more important for the compromise made by Congress over the slavery question. The aim of one part of the Compromise was to please the North by the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and another part to please the South by securing the return of fugitive slaves. By another part the territory lying between Texas and California was to have slavery or not, as the inhabitants should decide. By still another part California was admitted into the Union without slavery. Wisconsin had been admitted in 1848. There were now thirty-one states. Those without slavery outnumbered those with it. In 1853 the United States purchased a tract of territory, 29,670 square miles, from Mexico, in order to round out the southern boundary. Mexico received $10,000,000.

1853–57. Franklin Pierce. The Democrats regained power in the election of 1852. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire became President, and William R. King of Alabama Vice-President. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 and the application of the rule that Kansas and Nebraska, like the Southwest, might have slaves if the inhabitants wished and so voted, led to the formation of a new political party. This party, the Republican, was bent on keeping the territories for free laborers rather than slaves. The Whig party, like the Federalist, gradually broke up; its members went over to one of the other parties, chiefly to the Republicans. This made it easy for the Democrats again to win in the election of 1856, in spite of the unpopularity in the North of the Kansas and Nebraska Act.

1857–61. James Buchanan. The Democratic victor in the election of 1856 was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. The new Vice-President was

John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Buchanan's term was taken up chiefly with the great dispute over slavery. One event after another arrayed the North and South against each other. The Dred Scott decision in 1857 and the John Brown Raid in 1859 were the most serious events in the growth of the trouble. In 1858 Minnesota was admitted, and the following year Oregon made the thirty-third state. The count of population just before the Civil War showed a total of 31,443,321. This was almost exactly ten times the number in 1783. Of the total population the slave-holding states had 12,240,000 people; 3,950,000 of these were slaves. The North had 19,201,546. The area of the fifteen slave-holding states was 882,245 and of the free states 824,622 square miles. The greater part of the territories, however, could be counted as sure to become free states, and this made the area of the region opposed to slavery about double the area of that favorable to it.

1861–65. Abraham Lincoln. The new, or Republican, party won in the election of 1860, chiefly because the Democratic party was hopelessly divided over the slavery question. The Republican candidate for President was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and for Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin of Maine. Just before Lincoln became President seven southern states seceded. Soon afterward four more united in a Southern Confederacy. Almost the entire period of Lincoln's Presidency was occupied with the Civil War. Three new states were formed during the War. These were Kansas in 1861, West Virginia in 1863 (from the western part of Virginia), and Nevada in 1864. Lincoln was reëlected for a second term in 1864. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was at this time chosen Vice-President. One month and ten days after Lincoln began his second term he was assassinated, and Andrew Johnson became President.

1865–69. Andrew Johnson. The new President and Congress quarreled over the manner of reorganizing the states which had seceded and of settling the questions which had arisen as a result of the war. Two amendments were quickly added to the Constitution. The 13th amendment in 1865 forbade slavery within the United States. The 14th amendment in 1868 was intended, among other things, to prevent the states from abridging the rights of citizens whether white or black. In the same year Congress impeached President Johnson and so attempted to remove him from office. Nebraska joined the Union in 1867, and Alaska was purchased from Russia. The purchase of Alaska cost $7,200,000, and added 590,884 square miles of territory to the United States.

1869–77. Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois became President in 1869, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana Vice-President. They were elected by the Republicans. In 1870 the 15th amendment became a part of the Constitution. By this the states were forbidden to restrict the right to vote on the ground of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The United States now had a population of 38,558,371. Grant was reëlected in 1872,

with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts Vice-President. Colorado was admitted in 1876. Congress throughout Grant's two terms was still much occupied with the questions which had grown out of the Civil War — reconstruction in the South and management of the national debt.

1877–81. Rutherford B. Hayes. In the election of 1876 the Republicans put forward as candidates Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President, and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President. The Republican candidates had only one electoral vote more than their opponents. In reality Samuel J. Tilden of New York and T. A. Hendricks of Indiana the Democratic candidates, had more votes of the people, and would have won if the people voted directly for President. The census of 1880 gave the population of the United States as 50,155,783.

1881–85. James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur. In 1880 the Republicans had a larger vote than in 1876, though the contest between them and the Democrats was still close. James A. Garfield of Ohio and Chester A. Arthur of New York became President and Vice-President respectively. Garfield was shot by an assassin, July 2, 1881; he died September 19; and Arthur became President. One landmark in legislation of the period was the Act of 1883 requiring examination for many federal appointments. This was the Civil Service Reform Act.

1885–89. Grover Cleveland. For the first time since the Civil War the Democratic party won in the election of 1884. Grover Cleveland of New York became President the next year, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana Vice-President. In 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act for the regulation chiefly of railroad rates on commerce going from state to state.

1889–93. Benjamin Harrison. The Democrats remained in power only one term. The Republican candidates in the election of 1888 were successful. They were Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, President, and Levi P. Morton of New York, Vice-President. In this case, as in that of Hayes, the majority of the electors voted for Harrison, but the majority of the people voted for his opponent, Grover Cleveland. The principal laws of the time were about the larger use of silver as money and about the tariff. Several new states were formed from the western territory — chiefly from the old Louisiana territory — North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming in 1890. The number brought the United States up to a total of forty-four states, where it remained until 1896. The total population in the census of 1890 was 62,947,714.

1893–97. Grover Cleveland. After four years out of the Presidency, Grover Cleveland returned as a result of the election in 1892. The Democratic party had again won. The new Vice-President was Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois. One new state, Utah, was admitted in 1896 while Cleveland was President.

1897–1901. WILLIAM MCKINLEY. In the election of 1896 it was the turn of the Republicans to win. Their candidates, William McKinley of Ohio and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey, became President and Vice-President. In 1898 the United States was at war with Spain. During the war the Hawaiian Islands were annexed. They have an area, altogether, of 6,449 square miles. At the end of the war, by the treaty with Spain, Guam, Porto Rico, and the Philippines were acquired. Guam has an area of 210 square miles, Porto Rico of 3,435 square miles, and the Philippines 115,026 square miles. The United States paid Spain $20,000,000, but this amount in no sense represents the cost of the new possessions. The war with Spain cost the United States many times $20,000,000. In 1899 the Samoan Islands were divided between the United States and Germany. The United States was given six islands with an area of seventy-seven square miles. In the census of 1900 the United States was found to have a population of 75,994,575, not counting the island inhabitants. President McKinley was reëlected in 1900. Theodore Roosevelt of New York became Vice-President. Six months after McKinley's second term began he was assassinated, and Roosevelt became President, to finish the term of three years and six months.

1901–09. THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Theodore Roosevelt completed McKinley's term, and in 1904 was elected President. Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana was chosen Vice-President. The arrangement with Great Britain and Panama by which the United States acquired control of a zone ten miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama and the power to build a canal, was one of the most important events of the time. In 1902 the government began the work of irrigating parts of the deserts of the West. The passage of laws (1) to protect the people against impure foods, (2) to obtain more thorough railway rate regulation, and (3) to protect the nation's forests and streams from ruin, made the period an epoch in American history. In 1907 Oklahoma became a state in the United States.

1909–13. WILLIAM H. TAFT. In 1908 William H. Taft of Ohio, a Republican, was chosen President, and James S. Sherman of New York Vice-President. President Taft extended the plan of merit tests for many clerks and assistant postmasters in government service. The Republican party was, however, so divided on the great questions of the day, tariff reform and caring for the country's natural resources, that few important laws were passed. Congress and the President, however, did agree on two memorable laws. By one in 1911 a postal savings system was established; by another in 1913 the post office was also authorized to carry parcels of a moderate weight. In 1912 two states, formed from the territory obtained from Mexico in 1848, were admitted. These, New Mexico and Arizona, brought the total number of states to forty-eight. The population by the census of 1910 was 91,972,266, not including the island possessions. The area in square miles is about 3,617,673.

1913–1921. Woodrow Wilson. In the election of 1912 the Republican party was divided. The Convention renominated President Taft. Many Republican delegates joined with others in a Progressive party, which tried to elect former President Roosevelt. Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, whom the Democrats nominated for President, was chosen, with Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for Vice-President. Just before Taft's term expired the announcement was made that a 16th amendment had become law. This gave Congress power to tax incomes. A few weeks after the inauguration of President Wilson a 17th amendment was added to the Constitution. It changed the method of electing the Senators of the United States, who had hitherto been selected by the state legislatures. Under the new plan the people vote directly for them as they do for the members of the House of Representatives. President Wilson's first work was an attempt to carry out his party's pledges. The most famous law for this purpose was a new tariff act which reduced the taxes on imports. In 1914 a Federal Reserve Bank system was established and steps taken to build a government railroad in Alaska. Within the same year the Panama Canal was practically completed. This was the year when a Great War began in Europe. The establishment of the Federal Farm Loan Banks and the re-election of President Wilson in 1916, the order of the President for the choice of postmasters for merit rather than for political services, and the entry of the United States into the European War because German submarines destroyed American merchant ships are events also to be remembered. The War with Germany ended with an armistice November 11, 1918. The purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917 added an important station for American ships. Of the laws of Congress during the closing years of President Wilson's time the Cummins–Esch Act of 1920 for the regulation of the railroads was the most important. Two amendments were added to the constitution at this time, the 18th in 1919 prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, the 19th in 1920 extended suffrage to women on the same terms as to men.

1921–1923. Warren G. Harding. In the election of 1920 Warren G. Harding of Ohio was chosen President, and Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts Vice-President. The census of 1920 showed a total population of 105,708,771 for the continental United States. The outlying or island possessions had 12,148,738 more, a grand total of 117,857,509 people. A notable achievement of this administration was the limitation of armament treaty described on page 533. While returning from a visit to Alaska, President Harding was taken ill and died in San Francisco on August 2, 1923.

1923– . Calvin Coolidge. A few hours after Harding died, Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, the Vice-President, took the oath of office as President of the United States. In 1924 he was elected President, and Charles G. Dawes Vice-President.

POPULATION

Population at the Beginning of the Period of Independence

Entire United States

1776.....	2,750,000	1783.....	3,250,000	1790.....	3,929,214

Population by States from First Census—1790

Connecticut..	237,946	Maine[1].....	96,540	Rhode Island	68,825
Delaware....	59,096	New Hampshire	141,885	South Carolina	249,073
Georgia.....	82,548	New Jersey....	184,139	Tennessee[1]...	35,691
Kentucky[1]...	73,677	New York.....	340,120	Vermont[1]....	85,425
Maryland....	319,728	North Carolina	393,751	Virginia.....	747,610
Massachusetts	378,787	Pennsylvania..	434,373		

Area and Population of the States and Territories of the United States. 1920

States	*Area in square miles*	*Population in 1920*
Alabama	51,998	2,348,174
Arizona	113,956	333,903
Arkansas	53,335	1,752,204
California	158,297	3,426,861
Colorado	103,948	939,629
Connecticut	4,965	1,380,631
Delaware	2,370	223,003
Florida	58,666	968,470
Georgia	59,265	2,895,832
Idaho	83,888	431,866
Illinois	56,665	6,485,280
Indiana	36,354	2,930,390
Iowa	56,147	2,404,021
Kansas	82,158	1,769,257
Kentucky	40,598	2,416,630
Louisiana	48,506	1,798,509
Maine	33,040	768,014
Maryland	12,327	1,449,661
Massachusetts	8,266	3,852,356
Michigan	57,980	3,668,412

[1] In 1790 these were only territories.

States	*Area in square miles*	*Population in* 1920
Minnesota	84,682	2,387,126
Mississippi	46,865	1,790,618
Missouri	69,420	3,404,055
Montana	146,997	548,889
Nebraska	77,520	1,296,372
Nevada	110,690	77,407
New Hamsphire	9,341	443,083
New Jersey	8,224	3,175,900
New Mexico	122,634	360,350
New York	49,204	10,384,820
North Carolina	52,426	2,559,123
North Dakota	70,837	645,680
Ohio	41,040	5,759,394
Oklahoma	70,057	2,028,283
Oregon	96,699	783,389
Pennsylvania	45,126	8,720,017
Rhode Island	1,248	604,397
South Carolina	30,989	1,683,724
South Dakota	77,615	636,547
Tennessee	42,022	2,337,885
Texas	265,896	4,663,228
Utah	84,990	449,396
Vermont	9,564	352,428
Virginia	42,627	2,309,187
Washington	69,127	1,356,621
West Virginia	24,170	1,463,701
Wisconsin	56,066	2,632,067
Wyoming	97,914	194,402
Alaska	590,884	54,899
District of Columbia	70	437,571
Guam	210	13,275
Hawaii	6,449	255,912
Panama Canal Zone	436	22,858
Philippine Islands	115,026	10,350,640
Porto Rico	3,435	1,297,772
Samoa	77	8,056
Virgin Islands	390	26,051
Total of United States and its possessions	3,743,696	117,857,509

TEN LEADING CITIES

	1920	1910		1920	1910
New York...	5,620,048	4,766,883	St. Louis....	772,897	687,029
Chicago.....	2,701,705	2,185,283	Boston.....	748,060	670,585
Philadelphia..	1,823,779	1,549,008	Baltimore...	733,826	558,485
Detroit.....	993,678	465,766	Pittsburgh...	588,343	538,905
Cleveland....	796,841	560,663	Los Angeles .	576,673	319,198

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts

of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

SECT. II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two

Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECT. IV. 1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. V. 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy;

and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECT. VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECT. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECT. VIII. The Congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States;

but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

Sect. IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the

Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding $10 for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECT. X. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Sect. II. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sect. III. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sect. IV. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and on conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section I. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sect. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of

another State; — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECT. III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECT. III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Signed by] Go WASHINGTON
Presidt and Deputy from Virginia

Articles in Addition to and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the Several States, Pursuant to the Fifth Article of the Original Constitution[1]

Article I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II. A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

Article III. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Con-

[1] The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

stitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Article XI. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state. [Adopted in 1798.]

Article XII. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. — The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States. [Adopted in 1804.]

Article XIII. Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted in 1865.]

Article XIV. Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United

States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article. [Adopted in 1867.]

Article XV. Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted in 1870.]

Article XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration. [Adopted in 1913.]

Article XVII. Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be com-

posed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution. [Adopted in 1913.]

Article XVIII. Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress. [Adopted in 1919.]

Article XIX. Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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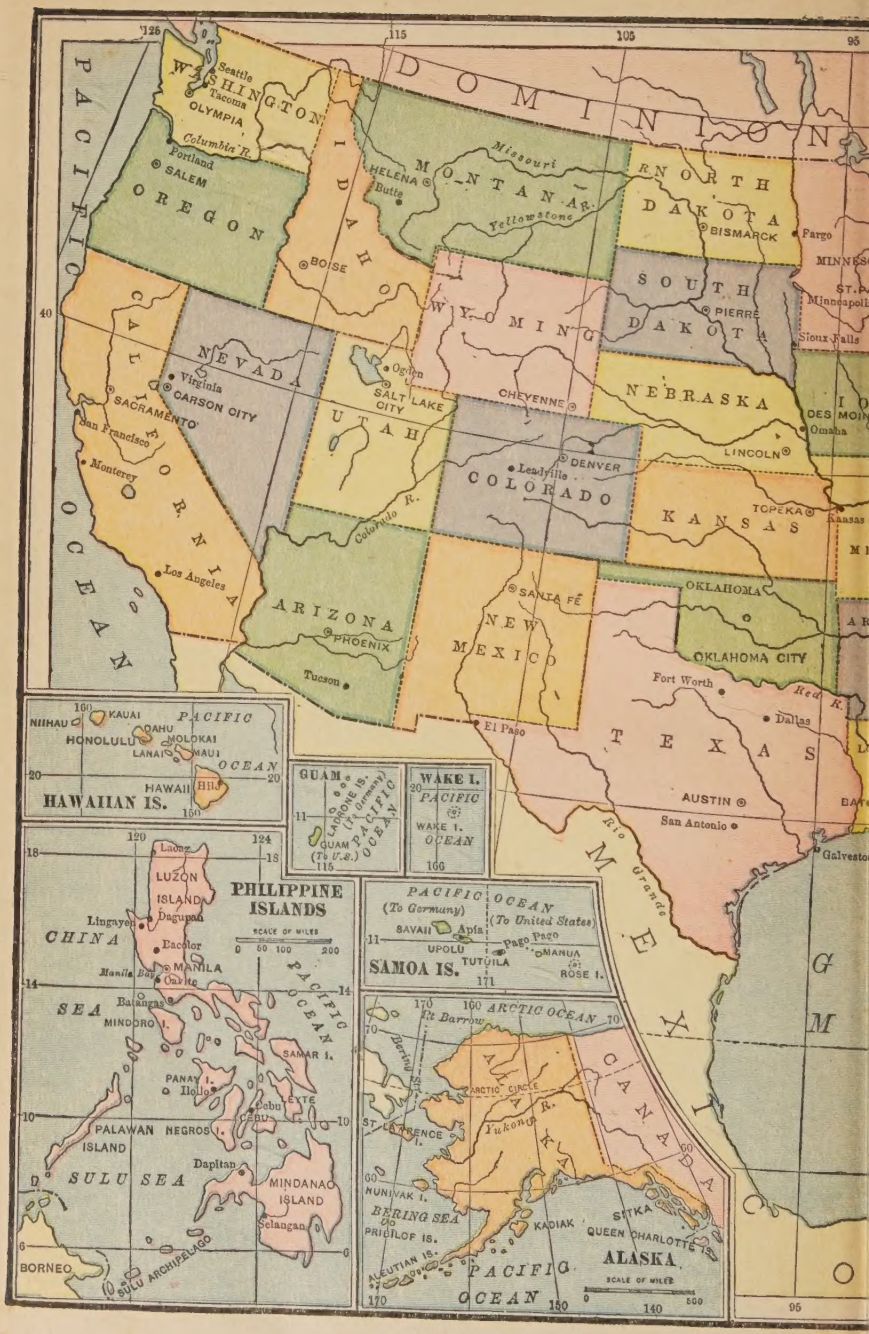
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PACIFIC OCEAN
WASHINGTON
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Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Toronto
Ottawa
Montreal
Quebec
St. Lawrence R.
Hudson Bay
Hudson Strait
Labrador
Newfoundland
Nova Scotia
Prince Edward I.
New Brunswick
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Anticosti I.
Belle Isle
Strait of Belle Isle
Cape Breton I.
Prince Edward Island
Gulf of St. Lawrence
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WEST VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
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DELAWARE
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Detroit
Cleveland
Buffalo
Pittsburgh
Boston
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Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
Richmond
Charleston
Savannah
Atlanta
Birmingham
Montgomery
Mobile
New Orleans
Memphis
Nashville
Louisville
Cincinnati
Indianapolis
St. Louis
Kansas City
Omaha
Minneapolis
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Milwaukee
Chicago
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Buffalo
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Washington
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Savannah
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Birmingham
Montgomery
Mobile
New Orleans
Memphis
Nashville
Louisville
Cincinnati
Indianapolis
St. Louis
Kansas City
Omaha
Minneapolis
Duluth
Milwaukee
HAWAIIAN IS.
NIIHAU
KAUAI
OAHU
HONOLULU
MOLOKAI
LANAI
MAUI
HAWAII
HILO
PACIFIC OCEAN
GUAM
LADRONE IS. (To Germany)
GUAM (To U.S.)
WAKE I.
WAKE I.
SAMOA IS.
PACIFIC OCEAN (To Germany)
PACIFIC OCEAN (To United States)
SAVAII
Apia
UPOLU
Pago Pago
TUTUILA
MANUA
ROSE I.
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
LUZON
Laoag
Lingayen
Dagupan
Baler
MANILA
Manila Bay
Cavite
Batangas
MINDORO I.
SAMAR I.
PANAY I.
Iloilo
LEYTE
Cebu
CEBU
PALAWAN
NEGROS I.
ISLAND
Dapitan
MINDANAO ISLAND
Selangan
SULU SEA
BORNEO
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
Pt Barrow
Bering Strait
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Yukon R.
YUKON
ST. LAWRENCE I.
NUNIVAK I.
BERING SEA
PRIBILOF IS.
KADIAK
SITKA
QUEEN CHARLOTTE I.
ALEUTIAN IS.
ALASKA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
0 140 500

85
75
65
CANADA
L. Superior
MICHIGAN
L. Michigan
L. Huron
Detroit
L. Ontario
Lake Erie
St. Lawrence R.
MONTPELIER
MAINE
AUGUSTA
Bangor
Portland
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Worcester
MASS.
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Charleston
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MONTGOMERY
TALLAHASSEE
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
JACKSON
Mobile
New Orleans
FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
AND ITS POSSESSIONS
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
NOTE: The maps of Hawaii, Samoa, Guam and Wake Is. same scale as map of Philippine Islands.
BAHAMA ISLANDS
Key West
HAVANA
CUBA
Santiago de Cuba
TROPIC OF CANCER
HAITI
SANTO DOMINGO
SANTO DOMINGO
PORT AU PRINCE
JAMAICA
KINGSTON
SAN JUAN
PORTO RICO
(To U.S.)
VIRGIN ISLANDS
(To U.S.)
CARIBBEAN SEA
40
30
20
Longitude West 85 from Greenwich 75